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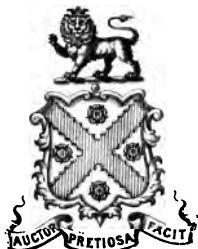
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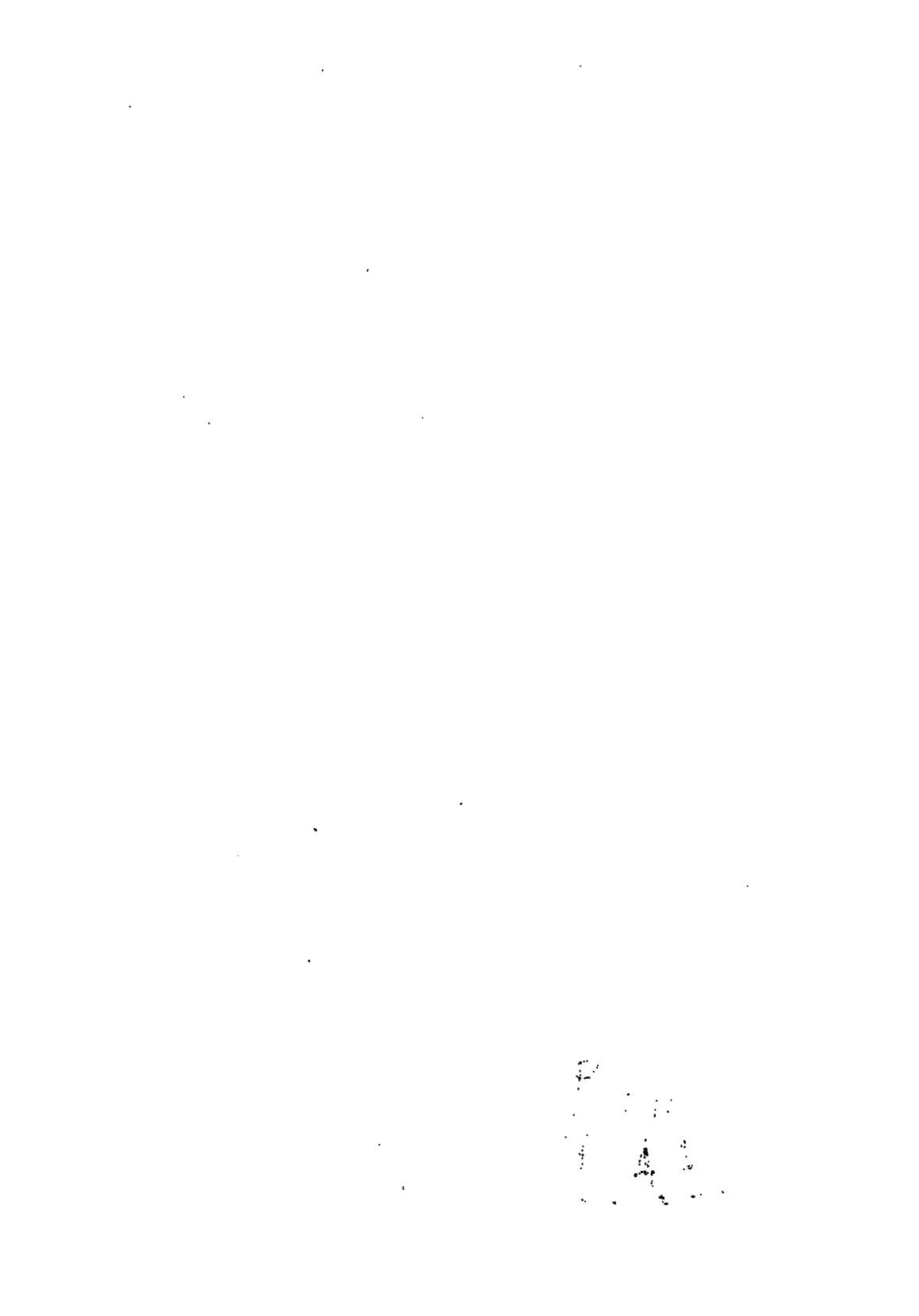
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*"Dr George Bancroft
Bunsen"*

THREE LINGUISTIC DISSERTATIONS

READ AT THE MEETING OF

THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION
IN OXFORD.

BY

CHEVALIER BUNSEN, DR. CHARLES MEYER,
AND
DR. MAX MÜLLER.

[*From the REPORT OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE for 1847.]*

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J. F.

starts high page 1.

On the results of the recent Egyptian researches in reference to Asiatic and African Ethnology, and the Classification of Languages. A Discourse read before the Ethnological Section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Oxford, on the 28th of June, 1847, by C. C. J. BUNSEN, D.C.L., Ph.D.

I HAVE begun to lay before the public in the first two volumes of my 'Egypt' the facts which the discovery of hieroglyphics has enabled us to establish as to the language, writing and mythology of the primitive Egyptians. I have attempted to explain them as the three documents or formations of those periods which precede the historical age, or the beginning of the chronological history of Egypt under Menes.

In the first volume I have endeavoured in particular to show, how it is possible and necessary to treat the forms and roots of a language as an historical monument, exhibiting a series of mental developments, which, although it cannot be measured accurately as to time, constitutes a certain succession of facts, and thus marks the epochs of the primeval life of a people. In carrying out this plan, I have attempted to represent, in a way intelligible to every general scholar, all the facts of Egyptian grammar, viz. all the forms, formative words and inflexions of the language in their natural order and connexion; and secondly, to collect the Egyptian roots which can be proved to have formed the heir-loom of that nation, as they occur in monuments not more recent than the time of Moses, and in great part anterior to him by a thousand years and more. It is impossible to look on those forms and on these roots with even a superficial knowledge of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages, and not to perceive that the Egyptian language is no more a Hebrew than a Sanscrit dialect, but that it possesses an affinity with each of them, such as compels us to ask the question, whether it is a more ancient formation than either or no?

This question becomes the more interesting and important, when it must be considered as demonstrated, that such an affinity cannot be explained by mere internal analogy; that, on the contrary, it is historical in the strictest sense of the word, viz. *physical* or original. I mean that the affinity alluded to cannot rationally be explained by a real or supposed general analogy of languages, as the expressions of human thought and feeling, nor by the later influence of other nations and tongues. Now the Egyptian name of Egypt is *Chēni*, the land of *Cham*, which in Egyptian means black. Can we then have really found in Egypt the scientific and historical meaning of Cham as one of the tripartite divisions of post-diluvian humanity? The Egyptian language attests an unity of blood with the great Aramaic tribes of Asia, whose languages have been comprised by scholars under the general expression of Semitic, or the languages of the family of Shem. It is equally connected by identity of origin with those still more numerous and illustrious tribes which occupy now the greatest part of Europe, and may perhaps, alone or with other families, have a right to be called the family of Japhet. I mean that great family to which the Germanic nations belong, as well as the Greeks and Romans, the Indians and Persians, the Slavonic and the Celtic tribes, and which are now generally called by some the Indo-Germanic, by others the Indo-European nations. The most ancient traditions of Europe certainly speak of Japhet; for Japetus is, according to the Greeks, the father of that great Titan or benevolent man-god who brought the celestial fire to his suffering brethren on earth, and was doomed for such daring to linger on the heights of Caucasus until another divine hero should set him free, and reconcile him to the younger gods, who govern the world of mankind.

I know that in saying thus much I assume a great fact. I take it for granted that the facts to which I allude, bear out the consequence I deduce from them: I mean, the assertion that the affinity of the Egyptian forms and roots with those of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages is one which can no more be explained by the general similarity, existing or supposed to exist, between different languages, than that between German and Scandinavian, between Greek and Roman, between Gothic and Sanscrit, which is disputed or doubted by nobody who has a right to speak on these subjects. I glory in belonging to a school which rejects altogether those etymological dreams and conjectures, those loose comparisons of single words without principle or analogy, and generally without any sufficient or critical knowledge of the idioms, in short, that unscientific comparison of languages, or rather of words caught at random, which made the etymologies of the seventeenth century the laughing-stock of the eighteenth. By its very principle the critical school admits of no claim to historical affinity between different languages, unless this affinity be shown to rest upon definite laws, upon substantial analogy, established by a complete examination of the materials. That school demands the strictest proof that those affinities are neither accidental nor merely ideal, but essential; that they are not the work of extraneous intrusion, but indigenous, as running through the whole original texture of the languages compared, according to a traceable general rule of analogy. The very method of this critical school excludes the possibility of accidental or mere ideal analogies being taken for proofs of a common historical descent of different tribes and nations. It is on account of this method, employed by Grimm, Bopp, Humboldt and other acknowledged masters of that school, that I claim in this scientific assembly a place, and a distinguished one, for linguistic ethnology as constituting a principal branch of general science. Science implies method and a consciousness of the principles of investigation. Now I believe I may boldly say, the fact to which I allude, viz. that the Egyptian language betrays a strictly historical connexion with Asia, or, to speak more precisely, with the Semitic and Iranian tribes, is among those who have studied them according to the principles of the critical school of comparative philology, no longer an object of controversy, although the origin and primeval source of that connexion may be explained ultimately in very different ways, according to the different systems of the philosophy of the history of mankind. I hope I have contributed something towards making it easy for a general scholar to judge of those primeval facts of Egyptian history, and to contemplate them as monuments of the primitive art and science of mankind. Nor shall I in the continuation of my work shrink from following out boldly its ultimate consequences. As soon as I shall have established the reality of ancient Egyptian history and chronology, and reconstructed by its help the primeval annals of the historical age, I intend to treat the great fact alluded to, as a part of the *Origines* of mankind. Indeed it is for this object that I undertook the work. In the mean time, having been called upon to lay before the British Association for the Advancement of Science a succinct statement of the general results of my Egyptian researches as to the origin and history of language, with a particular reference to Asiatic and African ethnology, I shall endeavour to indicate the elementary parts of my system, and submit to your candid and scientific examination some of the results which I believe we are enabled to deduce already from the facts of Egyptology.

There offer at the very outset two entirely divergent systems for explaining the general fact alluded to. Either the Egyptian language is a primitive one, from which those Asiatic and European languages derive their

origin ; or we must look in Asia for the origin of the people and language of Egypt. But in that case we must ask again, to what branch of those Asiatic languages does Egypt point ? To the essentially fixed Semitic, or to the Japhetic ? Was it the Hebrew or the Sanscrit from which the Egyptian language can be said to be derived, or was it their common germ ? and in that case, how can such a state of language be scientifically characterized and explained ? Egypt forms as it were the bridge between Africa and Asia. There must be a certain relation, collateral or parental, between the Egyptian language and some at least of the languages of Africa, analogous to that physiological affinity which evidently places the skull and the whole physical formation of the Egyptian man between the Caucasian and the thoroughly African race. Therefore our immediate problem will necessarily resolve itself, physiologically and historically, into the following great question :—
Is the Asiatic and European man a more favourably developed and perfected Egyptian and African ? or is the Egyptian (and perhaps the African man in general) a scion of the Asiatic stock, which gradually degenerated into the African type ?

Both assumptions claim, on the fields of science, an equal right. I assume two principles, as the inviolable conditions of every scientific inquiry. The one is,—*Science excludes no suppositions, however strange they may appear, which are not in themselves absurd, viz. demonstrably contradictory to its own principles*; and the second, equally sacred,—*Science admits of no assumptions, however natural or imperative they may be deemed, which are extraneous to its immediate object*. The whole question lies in these two axioms. As to myself, I exclude the hypothesis of a difference in the physical descent of the Egyptians and the two great families of Asia and Europe already mentioned, merely because I believe that facts have been discovered and methodically established which make it impossible to adopt such a theory. If these facts are proved not to be conclusive, I shall feel obliged to take that other assumption into serious consideration, and deal with it as with any other, viz. not according to any preconceived opinion or extraneous assumption, but according to its own intrinsic merit. It is by this principle that I wish my own opinion to be judged ; it is the only one on which I shall defend it.

My object being to lay before this meeting the elements of the explanation which I shall give of that fact in the concluding volume of my work on Egypt, I shall divide the statement of my own inquiries into two parts. In the first place, I shall try to develop the principles and method of an analysis of any given language, for the purpose of finding its place in the series of formations which constitute the general stock of the languages of mankind. In the second place, I shall have to give the outlines of an application of that method to the ethnological consequences of our Egyptian inquiries, and the general classification of the principal languages of the earth. Nobody, I believe, will deny the necessity of the first or general inquiry ; least of all the members of this learned Association.

I cannot help feeling that our claim,—the claim, I mean, of the Ethnological Section, to be generally acknowledged, independently of physiological researches concerning the races of mankind, as a legitimate branch of a scientific association,—must rest upon the possibility of showing to the physiologist, the geologist, and even to the astronomer, that ethnological philology is a science. I must insist upon its not being any longer an aggregate of isolated facts, much less of uncritical, arbitrary etymological conjectures, which any dilettante may be allowed to handle in his own way, but that it is a *science*, possessing a definite method, and proceeding upon *clear and productive principles*. I am far from basing such an assumption

on my own attempts and speculations. I shall, on the contrary, endeavour to prove, by way of introduction to the exposition of my particular method, that ethnological science has arrived in the course of this century at results, if less known in some parts of the world, certainly not less important, than those of which any branch of science represented in this illustrious body can boast; and that moreover it has arrived at these results by a legitimate and methodical process, not by chance or by accidental ingenuity. If man is the apex of the creation, it seems right on the one side, that a historical inquiry into his origin and development should never be allowed to sever itself from the general body of natural science, and in particular from physiology. But on the other hand, if man is the apex of the creation, if he is the end to which all organic formations tend from the very beginning; if man is at once the mystery and the key of natural science; if that is the only view of natural science worthy of our age, then ethnologic philology, once established on principles as clear as the physiological are, is the highest branch of that science for the advancement of which this Association is instituted. It is not an appendix to physiology or to anything else; but its object is, on the contrary, capable of becoming the end and goal of the labours and transactions of a scientific association.

A rapid sketch of the history of the philosophy of language, and of its application to comparative ethnology, showing its scientific method and the astonishing results at which it has already arrived, is sufficient to bear out this assertion and to justify this claim.

With such a rapid sketch I think it right to open the course of the inquiry to which I wish to invite you. I believe that no philosophical or historical problem ought to be approached by any one who does not know what has been done before him for that purpose, and what are the problems solved, or brought nearer to their solution. And here it seems to me to make no difference, whether such researches have been instituted and such results obtained in our own country or elsewhere; for science knows no difference of nations and countries, and acknowledges no pretence of patriotism as a cloak for ignorance or partiality. Its glory is in its universality and independence; and its only object ought to be truth.

The lucid survey of the general ethnological results of comparative philology which we have been favoured with this day by Dr. Prichard, will justify me in restricting my historical sketch to the two points of immediate importance for the object of this lecture. These leading points are the philosophical principles of language, and the results obtained by their application to the great problem before us, which is no less than the classification of the principal families of nations according to their languages, as the safest and most ancient evidence of their origin, and as the groundwork for a real history of the intellectual development and civilization of mankind.

I shall conclude therefore this historical sketch of philological researches with a short indication of the conclusions which they allow us, in my opinion, to draw from the philological results already obtained, for the general history of the human mind, and for the connexion and relative place of the leading families of mankind in the different epochs of their development.

Leading points in the History of the Philosophy of Language, and of its results for General Ethnology.

Plato in his 'Cratylus,' and Aristotle in his 'Organon,' have laid the foundations of the philosophy of language. The speculations of the first bear, when well understood, upon the highest problems of the philosophy of language; the categories and definitions of the second give the logical foundations of

our grammatical system, and establish by themselves the great principle, that language is the immediate produce and expression, as it were the mirror of logic and thought. In the speculations of both we see the entire want of an abstract knowledge of the etymological rules of their own language, and still more of a system, or even a tendency, to compare the Greek tongue with those of the barbarians. Nor did the later philosophers and philologists of Greece and Rome follow such a course. The Stoicks gave, indeed, the first theory of the Greek verb; and Apollonius Dyscolus and other acute and learned members of the Alexandrian Academy erected that fabric of grammatical definitions and terms, which, brought nearer to us by Varro and the later Latin grammarians (of whom Priscian and Donatus are known by name to our schoolboys), has formed down to the present century exclusively, and forms to a certain degree even now, the basis of our grammatical system. The deficiency of the lexicographic inquiries and speculations of the ancients is proverbial, and constitutes an important fact in the history of the human mind. Their absurd etymologies are the most striking proof of the impossibility of man to become conscious of his peculiarities, except by contrast and comparison with those of others. They prove moreover the incapacity of any nation to understand itself, without having realized, understood and appreciated the idea of humanity, and the feeling of brotherhood towards all mankind.

If the Roman world did little for the philosophy of language, although great men like Cæsar speculated upon it, the Byzantine age, in this branch also, did nothing but preserve the corpse of ancient science, reduced to formulae and epitomes, such as ages, sinking into materialism or any other form of barbarism, generally prefer to scientific and learned investigations.

The Germanic middle ages had not the means, and did not feel the vocation of inquiring into realities, although Christianity had given them the idea of humanity as distinct from nationality, and although the study of Latin, and later of Greek, and the acquaintance with the Saracens, led them naturally to a greater knowledge of the properties and diversities of languages.

The genial and free philology of the fifteenth century, which on the one hand prepared the way for the great Reformation of the sixteenth, gained, on the other, by this most memorable event of modern history, an unrestrained liberty of inquiry and the feeling of the sacredness of national tongues. It thus opened the way to wider researches, at the same time that the discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese laid a new world open before the awakening European mind. Antonio Pignafetta, an Italian, collected lists of words out of the tongues of the tribes and nations through which he had travelled.

But the only effective progress in linguistic philosophy and knowledge which the sixteenth century made, was due to classical philology combined with the study of Hebrew. The necessity of explaining the Old Testament from its original language led to the study and comparison of Arabic, Syriac, and Aramaic; and it is only necessary to know the two great luminaries of France, Joseph Scaliger and Bochart, to form an idea of the extent and importance of the progress made in this field of science.

On this foundation the seventeenth century attempted to build, as far as its struggles for religious and civil liberty would allow. But owing to the overwhelming power of the political and ecclesiastical reaction in the greater part of that century, all it achieved in this field was a cumbrous, uncritical superstructure of lexicography. There was no philosophical principle in the *speculation* of that century, nor any great historical problem to guide its

philology, which could have led either towards physiological or philological discoveries concerning the tribes and languages of mankind.

The mighty genius of Bacon was indeed aware of the importance and mysterious nature of language. The first chapter of the sixth book 'De Augmentis Scientiarum,' contains ample proofs of both. He there enumerates among the *desiderata*, as a portion of the doctrine De Organo Sermonis, a treatise, 'De Notis Rerum,' by which he means a philosophical catalogue of real signs (*charakteres reales*) corresponding with the number of *radical words*,—and also a philosophical grammar (Grammaticam Philosophantem). There is enough for centuries in both these problems. There is also much of wisdom implied in his general invaluable principles of induction and analogy; and it is to be regretted that these germs have not hitherto been fully developed. But Bacon himself did nothing towards that object with respect to language. He neither developed the principles of grammar nor of the formation of words; still less did he attempt a classification of languages, or try to establish a method of inquiry into their nature and origin.

Leibnitz is both the author of the comparative philosophy of language, and the first successful classifier of the languages then known. His principal object in the foundation of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin was, as his memoir of 1710 proves, to ensure the progress of this philosophy and classification of languages, and hereby to trace the genealogy of mankind. His 'Brevis designatio meditationum de originibus gentium, ductis potissimum ex indicio linguarum*', and his letter to Tenzel †, form an epoch in the history of our science. We may call the speculations, divinations and discoveries of Leibnitz in this respect prophetic, as one of the most illustrious astronomers of Europe, now amongst us ‡, in his last scientific report, has called Kant's speculations and suggestions published about the middle of the last century (1755), as to the system of the celestial bodies, with reference to the astronomical discoveries which adorn our age.

The great philosopher of Königsberg himself, in laying the foundations of his speculative philosophy of the mind, entered also into the nature of language and the definition of a race, and occupied himself with the method and importance of a comparative analysis of languages, partly in his philosophical works, partly in his preface to a Lithuanian grammar. About the same time, Albrecht Haller at Göttingen founded modern physiology, with that special application to the races of mankind subsequently developed by Blumenbach. John Harris (1751), in his 'Hermes,' a book full of ingenious reasoning and of learning, laid the foundation of grammatical philosophy. Soon afterwards (1786) Horne Tooke, his acute opponent, developed, amongst doubtful speculative theories, some very pregnant views respecting the origin of inflexions, suffixes, and formative words: a most important point for the comparative analysis of languages. Horne Tooke's researches in this respect are perhaps equalled for ingenuity only by those of Bilderdyk, the Dutch poet and essayist, on the origin of the three grammatical genders. But none of these three writers entered into the general subject of the classification and comparison of languages. Nor does the elementary treatise of the great Sylvestre de Sacy on universal grammar approach this problem. It was only in the first years of the nineteenth century, that Adelung's 'Mithridates' (completed by Vater in 1817) began to lay before the world

* Leibnitii Opp. ed. Dutens, IV. B. p. 186 seq. First published in Miscell. Berolin. 1710. See Guhrauer, Leibnitz, ii. p. 129.

† Guhrauer, i. 1.

‡ Professor Struve of Pultowa in his 'Rapport à M. le Comte Ouvrard,' 1847.

on a general plan as complete a review of all the languages of the globe as his materials allowed him to form. This careful compilation far surpasses all previous collections, like those of Hervaz (1785), and of William Marsden (1796), not only by its completeness, but also by its method. Strange to say, Adelung seems not to have known Leibnitz's researches. But he follows out Leibnitz's plan. He not only gives for every language the traditional specimen of the Lord's Prayer, and more or less complete lists of words, with the most characteristic grammatical forms, wherever any exist and are known; but he presents the languages themselves for the first time in a systematic order, and classifies them, to a certain degree, according to their affinities. In this classification he proceeds from the fundamental distinction of monosyllabic and polysyllabic languages, and acknowledges the claim of the first to a higher antiquity. Without adopting a theory, or establishing one of his own, respecting races and their origin, he attempts, and often successfully, to group together a vast number of cognate languages. These qualities, and a sober, rather bald, style of writing and composition, have procured Adelung's work a great authority in Europe. It comprises, moreover, in one of the later volumes, one of the most accurate specimens of linguistic analysis which we possess, in Wilhelm von Humboldt's Essay on the Iberian or Basque language. Finally, it ought not to be forgotten, in this essay, and in this place, that the study and review of the 'Mithridates,' gave Dr. Young, as he himself said, the first idea of inquiring into the hieroglyphic system; inquiries which have led to discoveries without which our problem could not even be proposed, nor the question mooted, which we hope to answer.

But judging the work by its bearings upon the definitive problem of linguistic science, we must confess that Adelung was merely a linguist, and neither an accurate philologer nor a deep philosopher; and that Vater in the continuation has not shown himself much of either. The results of their researches are therefore only elementary and provisional. Even as a compilation, the 'Mithridates' is already superannuated. Not only are its materials, in consequence of the copiousness of later discoveries and inquiries, lamentably defective; but the method of arranging and sifting those materials is entirely below the demands and necessities of the present state of science.

Adelung's work was completed by Vater in 1817. But already two years after the publication of the first volume of the 'Mithridates,' which took place in 1806, a work appeared, small in extent, and on the whole only a sketch, but possessing all those properties which constitute an epoch-making work,—I mean Friedrich Schlegel's 'Essay on the Language and Philosophy of the Hindoos (1808).' He fully established in it the decisive importance and precedence which grammatical forms ought to have over single words in proving the affinities of languages. He based this claim on the primeval and indestructible nature, and the unmistakeable evidence, of the grammatical system as to the original formative principles of language. By an application of this method he triumphantly showed the intimate historical connexion between the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, and the Germanic languages. Such a connexion had indeed been already observed by the active and elegant mind of Sir William Jones, but, unfortunately, with so little philological accuracy and philosophical clearness, that his remarks did not lead him or his friends and followers to any historical classification of languages. It is to the impulse given by Schlegel's work, that we are indebted in a high degree for the ideas on which the new linguistic school of Germany has proceeded. The value of its details has now quite ceased, since

the elaborate and accurate works on Sanscrit etymology by A. W. von Schlegel, Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, Pott, Benfey, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Lepsius, Höfer and others. All these men followed out the tracing of the different branches of languages connected with the Sanscrit. The unscientific expression of "eastern languages" ceased among the learned. The circle of Indo-Germanic languages, as they were called, was gradually extended to the Lithuanian, the Slavonic, and finally, by the combined and independent researches of Dr. Prichard, Bopp, and Dr. Meyer, to all the languages of Celtic origin. Classical philology was not the last to benefit by this great discovery : the grammatical forms and roots of Greek and Latin began to be considered under this new light by eminent Greek and Latin scholars. Such a combination of linguistic researches with true and deep philology is of the highest importance for the success of ethnologic researches. It is the only safeguard against unscientific intrusions into ethnology. Linguists, if only occupied with classifying languages, are easily led to a very superficial comparison of incomplete and crude materials. The philological treatment of such languages as have a literature and literary documents of different periods, is best adapted to keep mere linguists in the path of rational criticism, whenever they may be tempted to decide too rashly on idioms of savages and unexplored tongues, known only by incomplete and undigested vocabularies, or even only by accidental lists of some hundred words. In the same manner, such a philological exercise of linguistic criticism is of the greatest importance to the traveller who intends to communicate knowledge respecting the languages of savage and illiterate tribes. George Rosen, the worthy brother of the late lamented Professor of the London University College, and Richard Lepsius, were able to ask the natives of Caucasus and of the Upper Nile many more questions than ordinary travellers, when learning from the lips of the natives the Ossetic, the Nubian, and Meroitic languages. Lepsius' analysis of these two collateral languages of the Egyptian will, it is to be hoped, soon appear. Rosen's lately published grammar of the Ossetic language may be cited as an excellent specimen of the result of such philological inquiries on the spot.

This consideration will lead us to appreciate the immense importance of the critical, philological, and historical treatment of *one whole branch* of the Indo-Germanic languages, and that the branch most amply developed and most richly stored with literary documents, as well as best known to ourselves—I mean Jacob Grimm's Teutonic Grammar. In that astonishing work a whole family of languages has for the first time found an expositor, and as it were a historiographer, placed on the summit of the comparative linguistic analysis of our age. Grimm's researches and discoveries have therefore exercised, and will long continue to exercise, a decisive influence on all not merely superficial and elementary inquiries into the organic laws of any given language. Grimm's Teutonic Grammar, comprehending the Scandinavian as well as the German languages in all their ramifications, reduces each of them to its most ancient forms, and follows it down from that point through the whole course of its developments. It finds itself principally on an almost uninterrupted series of documents through fifteen hundred years of German literature, from Ulfilas to Goethe. By its method and its results this colossal work forms not only an epoch in the history of Germanic philology, but of ethnologic philology in general. For we have now a standard, according to which every other research must be tested, and all linguistic information measured, in order to judge of its approximation to accuracy and completeness. Grimm has adopted many of the elements of the grammatical theory which we owe to the scientific knowledge of the

Sanskrit language ; and he has shown throughout his work that precision and critical accuracy which is the great pride of classical scholarship. But he has also, in the analysis of that richest, best understood, and thriving family of languages, employed terms and established principles which are more or less applicable to all the languages of the Japhetic, Semitic, and Chamitic tribes, and have already been applied and followed out by Lepsius, Meyer, and others. His terminology of *anlaut*, *inlaut*, *auslaut*, *umlaut*, of *strong and weak declension and conjugation*, and similar phrases, have been found of decided use in the remotest parts of ethnological inquiry. I may be allowed to quote, as instances, Lepsius' and my own Egyptian, and Dr. Meyer's Celtic and Cymric researches, Schott's Mongolian and Rosen's Ossetic Grammar. But above all, his discovery of the law of *transposition of sounds* (*Lautverschiebung*) prevalent in the Sanscrit, Greek, Roman, and Gothic words, as compared with each other, is one of the most fertile and triumphant discoveries of philological ethnology. According to this table in the scale of the labials,—

the Greek P corresponds with the Gothic F and the Old German B or (V).

" B " " " P " " " F
" F " " " B " " " P

In the scale of the dentals.—

the Greek T corresponds with the Gothic TH and the Old German D.

" D " " T " " R " " " Z
 " TH " " " " " T

In the scale of the gutturals.—

the Greek K corresponds with the Gothic { H init. G med. } and the Old German G

" G " K " " CH
 " { X (Greek) } " G " " K
 " H (Latin) " " "

By this simple table we find a most regular, and, therefore, certainly not an accidental analogy in those languages; we are enabled to establish true etymologies, and, what is still more important, to discard innumerable past, present, and future false ones*.

* We give the following words as specimens after Grimm and Bopp. If the horizontal lines are used to show the succession of sounds in the same language, and the corresponding organic sounds of the two others are placed one under the other, vertically, the above table takes the following shape:—

	I. Labials.			II. Dentals.			III. Gutturals.		
	1.	2.	3.	1.	2.	3.	1.	2.	3.
Greek	P	B	F	T	D	Th	K	G	Ch
Gothic	F	P	B	Th	T	D	(H. G)	K	G
Old High German .	B (v)	F	P	D	Z	T	G	Ch	K
Sanskrit.	Greek.			Latin.			Gothic.		
I.—1. Pâdas (foot)	πούς, ποδός			pes, pedis			fôtus		vuoz.
Panchan (five)	πέντε			quinqüe			fimf		vinf.
Pûrma (full)	πλέος			plenus			fulls		vol.
Pitrî (father)	πατήρ			pater			fadrein		vatar.
Upari (over)	ὑπέρ			super			ufar		ubar.
I.—2. vrishâ (cow)				vacca				fersa.
..... (hemp)	κάνναβις			cannabis				hanf.
bâla (young)				bullus				folo.
I.—3. Bhanj (to break)				frangere			brikan		prêchan.
Bhuj (to enjoy)				frui, fruc us			brûkon		prûchôñ.
Bhrâtrî (brother)				frater			brôthar		pruodar.
Bhrî (to bear)	φέρω			fero			baira		piru.
Bhrâ (brow)	ὁφρύς								prawa.
Kapîlia (head)	κεφαλή			caput			haubith		houpit.

Thus the *desiderata* of Bacon, and the general plan and fundamental views of Leibnitz had been carried out, in the course of our century, to a considerable degree. By a rare combination of philosophical thought, of philological accuracy, and of linguistic research, a method had been established for analysing a given language and detecting its affinities with another of the same family. By this process, in the Semitic, and still more so in the Japhetic languages, the general observations of preceding philosophers on the characteristics and the relative advantages or imperfections of the languages of mankind had become entirely obsolete, being partly incomplete,

Sanskrit.	Greek.	Latin.	Gothic.	Old High German.
II.—1. Tvac (thou)	τύ	tu	thu	du.
Tam (him)	τόν	is-tum	thana	dēn.
Trayas (three)	τρεῖς	tres	threis	dři.
Antara (other)	ἄλλος	alter	anthal	andar.
II.—2. Dantam (tooth, acc.)	δόντα	dentem	thuntu-s	zand.
Dvau (two)	δύο	duo	tvai	zuēnē.
Daxiā (right hand)	δεξιά	dextra	taihsvō	zésawa.
Uda (water)	ὕδωρ	unda	vatô	wazar.
II.—3. Duhiatrī (daughter)	δυγάρηρ		dauhtar	tohtar.
Dvar (door)	θύρα	fores	daur	tor.
Madhu (sweet)	μέθυ			mēto.
III.—1. Cvan (dog)	κύων	canis	hunths	hund.
Hṛid (hart)	καρδία	cor (dis)	hairtō	hérza.
Akscha (eye)	ὤκος	oculus	augô	ouga.
Açru (tear)	ἀσκρυ	lacryma	tagr	zahar.
Paçu (cattle)	πέκυ	pecus	faihu	vihu.
Svaçura { (German Schwäher, Schwager)	éκυρός	socer	svaihra	suehur.
Daçan (ten)	δέκα	decem	taihun	zēhan.
III.—2. Jñā (to know)	γνῶμι	gnosco	kan	chan.
Jāti (kin)	γένος	genus	kuni	chuni.
Jānu (knee)	γόνυ	genu	kniu	chniu.
Mahat (much)	μέγας	magnus	mik ls	mihil.
III.—3. Hansa (goose)	χήν	anser	gans	kans.
Hyas (yesterday)	χθές	heri	gistra	késtar.
Lih (to lick)	λείχω	lingo	laigô	lēkôm.

The Lithuanian follows generally the three old languages, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, only substituting, from its deficiency in aspirates, unaspirated for aspirated letters, for instance :—

Sanskrit.	Lithuanian.
Ratha (waggon)	rata (wheel).
Ka (who?)	ka (who?)
Dadámi (I give)	dumi.
Pati (master)	pats (husband).
Panchan (five)	penki.
Trayas (three)	trys.

A few irregularities occur, such as Sanskrit *nakha* (nail) and Lithuanian *nagas*, and not *nakas*, as it ought to be, according to the general law.

The *Zend* also ranges with the Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, only that according to its euphonical laws tenues are sometimes changed into aspirates by a following letter, in which cases it coincides apparently with the Gothic.

In the languages above compared there occur irregularities as to the displacement of sounds only in the middle and at the end of words. Thus the Latin *pater*, ought to be Gothic *fathrein* (parents), and the Old High German *vadar*, instead of *fadrein* and *vatar*. Thus the Gothic *fíðvor*, instead of *fíþvor* (quatuor) : Latin *sopio*, Gothic *sleþa*, Old High German *slifi*, etc. Nor do the grammatical inflexions always submit to these laws. For instance, the Latin *habet*, and Gothic *habeith*, is in Old High German *hapēt*, and not *hapēd*.

At the beginning of words the law above exhibited is without exception for Greek, Latin, and Gothic.

partly erroneous, and all inaccurate, scientifically speaking. The great desideratum then was, that more accurate reflexions should be made on those points by an eminent philosophical mind, with a full knowledge of all the modern discoveries. This want has been supplied in an admirable manner by the immortal posthumous work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the introduction to his analysis of the Kawi language (1836). The title of this introduction is, ‘On the Diversity of the Constructions of Human Language, and its Influence on the Intellectual Development of Mankind.’ Beginning with the simplest elements of speech, the illustrious author gradually proceeds to the construction of a sentence, as the expression of intellect and thought. He then shows that the Chinese is a perfect form in its kind. In examining, explaining, and comparing the different means used by different nations to render single words susceptible of signs, destined to mark their position in a sentence, he shows that all accomplish this, more or less imperfectly, with the exception of the Sauseritic family, in which he gives the prize to the language of the Hellenes. Thus he is brought at last irresistibly to the result, that the Chinese language and the Sanscritic family represent the two extremes of all known formations of speech. With respect to the Semitic languages, he considers them as standing on the same line with the Sanscritic, in consequence of their decided tendency towards the system of inflectional forms; other formations necessarily occupy, according to him, a place between those two extremes.

In following out this great plan of comparative philosophy respecting all the different phenomena of language, he does not enter into a particular consideration of the historical problem which is to occupy our attention. He considers it *possible* that the different classes of formations constitute, as it were, the stages of a continual development. It is also possible, he continues, that such different formations may be accompanied by historical affinities, arising out of a common origin. But, he adds, this must entirely depend upon historical research*: and into this research he does not enter; nor does he discuss the method of such an inquiry. He not only abstains from the historical investigation, but seems to declare, in another passage, that a complete and satisfactory classification of all languages is an impossibility, on account of the numberless varieties of formations†. In another, later passage of his work, he expresses his doubts whether there may not be a radical connexion between the Chinese and Burmese languages‡, and gives some remarkable instances even of grammatical affinities. Now if such a radical affinity should be established, it is clear that an immense step would have been made towards proving that the languages of the great majority of mankind have a common origin. Humboldt therefore was far from denying such a possibility. Under these circumstances we think it safest to express the final result of W. von Humboldt’s researches in the very words of the concluding sentence of his great work. These remarkable words are the following:—

“The result of what has been developed hitherto is this, as far as the expression of grammatical relations by particular signs, and the syllabic extent of words is concerned. If we consider the Chinese and the Sanscrit languages as the extreme points, there is in the other languages lying between those points, whether they keep the syllables separate, or attempt imperfectly to amalgamate them, a gradually increasing tendency to make the grammatical expression more visible, and to unite syllables to words more freely.”

To have established this great result, by a scientific method, with copious,

* § 5, p. xxxv. § 7 p. lxiii.

† § 24, p. ccxlvi.

‡ Ibid. p. ccclxxxviii.

sound, and thoroughly digested materials, constitutes, in my opinion, the lasting value of a work, which besides claims an eminent rank as the concentration of the thoughts and researches of a man of excellent judgement and profound learning, who had dedicated a great part of his active life partly to speculations on language in general, partly to a critical and detailed analysis of a variety of tongues. As to its bearing upon the great historical problem before us, although, as we have already observed, the author purposely refrains from entering into the general question of the original unity or diversity of races and languages, his work will nevertheless be found to point out the most valuable landmarks for all who are bold enough to sail on this wide and dangerous ocean. Its researches belong to the *Calculus sublimis* of linguistic theory. It places Wilhelm von Humboldt's name in universal comparative ethnologic philology by the side of that of Leibnitz.

We have hitherto considered the development of modern philological research without the admixture of the physiological element first applied to the inquiry into races by Haller and Blumenbach. But I cannot conclude this rapid sketch without a particular mention of the two works which have lately treated the question of races and languages in general, and which both combine admirably the physiological with the ethnologic and historical elements, I mean Dr. Prichard's 'Researches into the Physical History of Mankind,' now complete before the world in five volumes (and already reproduced in more than one translation), and the great work of our age, Alexander von Humboldt's 'Kosmos.' It must be gratifying and encouraging to see how an impartial appreciation of the physiological inquiries carried on from the time of Camper and Blumenbach down to Cuvier and Johannes Müller, in their combination with ethnologic philology and history, has led these two eminent authors to conclusions, which, for the purpose of our investigation, may be comprehended under the two following heads:—

First, that although physiological inquiry by itself can never lead to any conclusive result, still it decidedly inclines, on the whole, towards the theory of the unity of the human race :

Secondly, that philological inquiry, as far as it has hitherto been conducted in a scientific manner, rejecting therefore, on the one side, loose comparisons of single words, and, on the other, hasty conclusions drawn from a few isolated startling facts, tends more and more to the same result.

But philological inquiry has not been able to justify such a conclusion scientifically. The last great philological work on the subject appears, on the contrary, as we have just seen, rather as a warning against the problem which we have ventured to place at the head of our inquiry.

In the introductory part of this lecture I have not hesitated to ascribe to the results of Egyptian ethnologic philology a great importance with regard to this problem, and in particular to the relation of Asiatic and African humanity. Before I proceed therefore to state the general results which I believe we are already enabled to draw from the radical affinities of idioms for the classification of languages, and for the universal history of mankind, it will be necessary to point out the bearing of those philological Egyptian researches upon comparative ethnologic philology in general.

Champollion established satisfactorily, and demonstrated by monuments what the Berlin Coptic school of the last century had made more than highly probable,—the general identity of the old and modern Egyptian languages. He proved the language of ancient Egypt to be a genuine organic structure, and not a confused corruption and mixture, as some theologians had shown a great tendency to assume. In exhibiting the system of ancient Egyptian declensions and conjugations, and even of the syntax, he was not entirely un-

aware of a certain difference between the old Egyptian and the Coptic forms. Still his grammatical views and remarks on this latter point are very defective and erroneous. Not being a master in that comparative philology in which his illustrious countryman, Eugène Burnouf, has taken so eminent a part, by the side of the first Iranian philologists of Germany, he was unable to observe, still more to account for most of those differences. It was Lepsius, who, in his Letter to Rossellini (1837), pointed out the principle in which they originate. I have since endeavoured to give a complete survey of the grammatical forms and roots of the ancient Egyptian, in the grammatical and lexical exposition of the first book of my ‘Egypt,’ and to establish that those differences are organic, and analogous to the gradual development of the system of hieroglyphic writing. It was also Lepsius, who, in his most acute Essay ‘On the Egyptian Numerals,’ first showed the deeply-rooted radical analogy which the ancient roots of the language of Egypt bear on the one side to the Indo-Germanic family, on the other to the Semitic. Dr. Meyer carried this out more fully, by showing the undoubted affinity between Egyptian roots and those of the Indo-Germanic family, including the Celtic; an affinity of which Schwartze also had given occasional examples in his great work. This author has also insisted upon the affinity with the Semitic, which in the grammatical, and especially the pronominal part, is decidedly prevalent: a point which has been more particularly developed by Benfey.

The particular purpose of my studies in this field was to bring the results of these discoveries to bear on the universal history of mankind, and on the connexion of this history with the physiological affinity of the nations, which have hitherto taken the lead in the civilization of the world. The conclusions to which I arrived in pursuing this course will be better understood, after I shall have presented to you, as I now proceed to do, under three heads, the historical facts established by the critical schools of the Indo-Germanists, the Semitics, and lastly, by the Egyptologists.

I. Eight, more or less extensive, historical families, or single nations have been ascertained to constitute one great Asiatic-European stock, of which even the remotest members speak original languages, more intimately connected with each other than with any third tongue, or family of tongues, in the world. We shall call this stock here, for the present, the Japhetic, according to a terminology which we shall in the sequel find reason to enlarge considerably.

The *first* great family of this stock are the *Celts*, once spread over Asia Minor (Galatia), Spain, France, Belgium, Helvetia, a great part of Germany, and throughout the British Isles: it is still in the Kymric (of which the Bas Breton is a corrupted form), the language of Wales, and in two cognate forms, the Gaelic and the Erse, the native tongue of the Highlands of Scotland, and of the whole of Ireland. This family we consider as representing the most ancient formation of the whole stock.

The *second* family is the *Thracian* or *Illyrian*, once spread on the Dnieper, the Hellespont, and in Asia Minor, in which countries it was followed, and partly supplanted, by the *Pelasgian*, or ante-historical formation of the Hellenic. The languages of the Epirots and Macedonians belong to this family: it is now represented by the Skipetarian, or the language of the Albanians or Arnauts.

The *third* is the *Armenian*, the language spoken during the historical age, in the country which, according to the most ancient traditions of the Semites, was the cradle of mankind, and again the primeval seat of man after the deluge of Noah.

The fourth formation we venture to call the *Asiatic Iranian*, or the

Iranian stock as presented in Asia. Here we must establish two great subdivisions. The one comprises the nations of Iran proper, or the Arian stock, the languages of Media and Persia. Its most primitive representative is the *Zend*. We designate by this name both the language of the most ancient cuneiform inscriptions (or Persian inscriptions in Assyrian characters) of the sixth and fifth century, and that of the ancient parts of the *Zend-Avesta*, or the sacred books of the Parsis, as explained by Burnouf and Lassen. We take the one as the latest specimen of the western dialect of the ancient Persian and Median (for the two nations had one tongue), in its evanescent state, as a dead language; the other as an ancient specimen of its eastern dialect, preserved for ages by tradition, and therefore not quite pure in its vocalism, but most complete in its system of forms. The younger representatives of the Persian languages are the Pehlevi (the language of the Sassanians), and the Pazend, the mother of the present, or modern Persian tongue, which is represented in its purity by Ferdusi, about the year 1000. The Pushtu, or language of the Afghans, belongs to the same branch. The second subdivision embraces the Iranian languages of India, represented by the Sanscrit and its daughters. Which of the languages of Hindustan belong to the Arian stock, and which to the Indian family of languages prevalent before the Iranian immigration, is a disputed point, which we hope will be brought nearer to a settlement by Dr. Müller's lecture this day.

The *fifth* family is the *Hellenico-Italic*, or the Greek and Roman, and all the Italic languages, with the doubtful exception of the Etruscan, which at all events was a mixed language, having a Pelasgic groundwork, with a great barbarian admixture. Under Italic tongues we understand the languages of Italy proper, south of the Apennines, and of the Italic isles.

The *sixth* family is that of the *Slavonic* nations in their two great branches; the eastern, comprising the Old Slavonic of the Bible and of Nestor, the Russian, Servian, Croatic, and Wendic; and the western, the languages of the Tschechs (Bohemians), Slovaks, Poles, and Serbians, once prevalent in the north of Germany, and now spoken from the Adriatic to the Dnieper. In the ancient world, this great, powerful and much-divided family is represented by the *Sauromatae* of the Greeks, or the *Sarmatae* of the Romans, a nation living on the Don and near the Caspian Sea. For the statement of Herodotus that they spoke a faulty Scythian, may as well be understood in the sense in which the English may be said to speak a bad French, as in that in which one might say, the French speak an incorrect Franconian German. The first interpretation is, according to the testimonies of other ancient writers respecting the physiognomy of the Sarmatae, the only admissible one. Those tribes which Herodotus knew, spoke their language mixed with that of the Scythians, which does not prove that the rest did.

The *seventh*, nearly allied to this and the next family, that of the *Lithuanian* tribes, among which the ancient Prussian represents the most perfect form, is in some points nearer to the Sanscrit than any other existing tongue.

Finally, last not least, the *Teutonic nations* in their two branches, the Scandinavian and the German. The first has preserved its most ancient form in the Icelandic; the Swedish and Danish are the modern daughters of the Old Norse language of Scandinavia. The second is the German, now the language of the whole of Germany, and almost the whole of Switzerland. Its northern or Saxon form has received a peculiar individuality in the Flemish and Dutch tongues, and, by the emigrations of the fifth century of our era, has become, mixed with French words since the Norman Conquest, the prevalent and leading language of the British Isles, and is becoming now, by the still continuing emigrations since the seventeenth century, that of

the northern continent of America. The southern German tribes have successively formed, with a greater or less infusion of words into the Latin groundwork, the Italian, French and Spanish languages.

II. The following nations form another compact mass, and represent one physiologically and historically connected family; the *Hebrews*, with the other tribes of Canaan or Palestine, inclusive of the Phoenicians, who spread their language, through their colonization, as that of the Carthaginians; the *Aramaic* tribes, or the historical nations of Aram, Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, speaking Syrian in the west, and the so-called Chaldaic in the east; finally, the *Arabians*, whose language is connected (through the Himyaritic) with the *Ethiopic*, the ancient (now the sacred) language of Abyssinia. We shall call this second family, by the name now generally adopted among German Hebrew scholars, the Semitic.

III. The language of the ancient Egyptians has an equally organic structure, but much less developed than those two families, and is connected in its roots and grammatical forms both with the Japhetic and the Semitic stock. This phenomenon cannot be explained, except by the supposition that those two great families were originally connected with each other. Is then, we ask, the method employed to establish the affinity between the different branches of each family sufficient to solve this ulterior problem? Or, if not, which are the scientific elements of a new and higher method of solution? Before entering further into these questions, allow me to present to you some ideas respecting the importance which these linguistic results seem to me to have as illustrating and explaining the general course of the civilization of mankind.

It is only necessary to reflect on the names of the nations constituting the two great Asiatic families, in order to be convinced that these three linguistic facts are not merely interesting and important in the ordinary view of etymological research and antiquarian erudition. I have stated them in the preface to my 'Egypt' somewhat in the following way. Universal history, as far as it is the history of the human mind and of civilization in what we call the historical age, is nothing but the history of those two great families, the Japhetic and the Semitic, with an occasional influence of Egypt and the Egyptians. But the Egyptian language, allied to both families, not only represents the primeval history of Egypt, but is moreover the only known historical monument of an earlier period of the human race, and therefore (unless we would derive the Asiatic man from the valley of the Nile) the record of the language and civilization of primitive Central Asia. Of this period, thus recorded, we shall here say nothing more. Nor shall we here develope the idea that Egypt's ancient history itself represents the middle ages of the most ancient world. But if we look into the later, or so-called historical age, into what may be termed, from a large point of view, the modern history of mankind, the principal parts of the great drama of human advancement are, in the three great acts which are before us, distributed in the following manner ethnologically. In the first, we meet on the one side with the Bactrians and Medians, the Indians and Persians; on the other hand, with the Babylonians, and probably the Assyrians, the Jews and Phœnicians. For on the very border of the ante-historical age, we find, according to Genesis and Berosus, on the one side in the East, the Bactrian, the oldest Iranian state, on the other, the first great western empire of Asia (and indeed of the world) of which we have any historical tradition, namely, the Babylonian, or the kingdom of Babel (Babiru) on the Euphrates. The primitive masters of the Babylonian empire in the primeval period at a later epoch spoke most probably the language of the undivided stock, preserved

to us by the Egyptian, and the most ancient form of the already individualized Semitic. But even the language of the primitive empire of Babylon must have inclined to the Semitic idiom. As to that of Bactria, if its list of kings, preserved by the Armenian Eusebius, deserves, as I believe it does, serious consideration, all its traditions were in decidedly Iranian tongues. As the one may therefore be called the mother of Hebrew, the other must have been either the mother of Zend and its colonial scion, Sanskrit, or the most ancient form of that very language.

The neighbouring metropolis of Assyria, Nineveh, belongs, as its name proves, to the historical age; for admitting that Ninus, according to all credible accounts of the historians, cannot be placed higher than the thirteenth century before our era, the restored chronology and the history of Egypt afford us a new proof of this fact. Geographically it must appear highly probable that the Assyrians, the men of Old Kurdistan, having Nineveh as their later southern metropolis, spoke a Semitic language: even the apparent affinity of the names of Assyria and Syria seems to lead to this assumption. But it must be candidly confessed, that hitherto we have no positive proof of it. Assyria, as regards its most essential and primitive region, is represented by modern Kurdistan; and the Kurds speak an Iranian language. So do the Armenians, their northern neighbours, whose historical traditions reach very far back. Indeed there is no proof of a Semitic language on the left bank of the Tigris. But on the other side, the cuneiform alphabet, the characters of which are called by the ancients Assyrian, is undoubtedly not constructed for an Iranian language. Moreover, Assur is in the Mosaic table of Semitic origin, posterior to the Babylonian empire; and Assur seems to point to Assyria.

In the *second* act of the modern history of mankind, we find, on the Japhetic side, the principal parts of civilization entrusted to the Hellenic and Italic nations; the Jews again, with the Carthaginians, representing the Semitic on the other. Finally, in the third act, now still on the scene of the world, we have as the leaders, the Scandinavian, the Germanic, and the Slavonic nations: but here also a powerful admixture of the Semitic element is not wanting. There is, nationally, the conquering Arab, who with his sword and his Islam once penetrated even into Europe. There is, individually, the Jew, standing without a country and temple, between the past and the future, and meanwhile living as a cosmopolite among the children of that Japhet, who was destined "to live in the tents of Shem," and whose children, at the dawn of history, drove him out of his primitive seats, and finally destroyed his city, and that temple, upon the ruins of which the Christian church was built, to spread all over the earth. Now what is the remaining history of the world, but an account of incursions and devastations, with the names of disturbing tribes, savage conquerors, and a few isolated sages? Egypt, in spite of occasional conquests and a continued but mummified civilization, is in this historical age only remarkable as having nursed the great legislator of the Jews, and given him occasion to found the first religion, based upon our moral consciousness, emancipated from the bondage of the elements, and striving after liberty through the law of conscience. That whole age is the agony of Cham. If we compare the relative position of the two families in those three periods, we observe an increasing extent and power of the Japhetic element, destined to rule the world in a number of successive nations. Of the two first known empires of the world, the more powerful and influential seems to have been that which, if it did not speak the most ancient form of Hebrew, certainly must be considered as the representative of Shem. Shem appears in his own annals as one who had left his native land, and in

the course of ages migrated west and south from the primitive common seat of the civilizing stock in Central Asia, with an unceasing tendency towards Egypt. In the historical age of the world the power passes rapidly and irresistibly to Japhet. The great continuous stream of human civilization runs, since that time, clearly in a Japhetic bed; whereas Shem takes the most prominent part in the religious development of mankind. The three cognate religions which govern the world are Semitic, based upon Semitic records, and founded and propagated by Semites. But conscious speculation and philosophy speak by the mouth of Japhet; and its heroes are Hellenes and Romans, Romanics and children of the Germanic stock. It dawns among the Iranianians, and bursts the fetters of Islamism in the Sufism of Persia. It is to the sons of Japhet that the beautiful was revealed. Before the Hellens received that revelation in its fulness, before the forms of the images of the gods were beheld by the reproducing artist, architecture, sculpture and painting had their temples in Iranian Asia. Sesostris of the old empire must have borrowed from Japhetic inventors, as Solomon and Hiram did. In poetry, the Semite excels in the lyric: his feeling of nationality, weakened by the prevalence of tribe-feelings, is not sufficiently wide and vivid to produce epic poems, or narrative poetical representations of national destinies. Finally, the drama, or the combination of the lyric and epic elements, and the complete representation of the eternal laws of human destiny in political society, is entirely unknown to the Semite. It is exclusively the creation of the Hellenic mind, feebly imitated by the Roman, reproduced with originality by the genius of the Germanic race. Nor is Iranian India entirely wanting in this last of the three species of poetical composition. The 'Song of Solomon' shows how near the Hebrew mind was in its zenith to the dramatic form, without being able to go beyond the lyric. Thus everywhere the Semitic and the Japhetic mind assist and complete each other; but the Japhetic formation is nationally always the higher. Individually the power of a great individuality is higher among the Semites than among the Japhetites. Throughout history the Semitic nations act, as it were, the great episodes in universal history by temporary reconquests of the land of the Japhetites, and by opposing profound thought and religion, inspiration as well as cunning, to the more comprehensive genius, in science, politics and war, of the sons of Japhet. But what they do is prominently the embodied thought and continued impulse of one great hero. The only great empire which the Semites founded in the historical age (omitting the Assyrian as not yet explored), that of the Arabs, was solely formed by the impulse of Mohammed, and under the influence of religious fanaticism. It fell to pieces when that impulse and that excitement faded away. Christianity is of Semitic origin; but it was stamped as the general religion of the world, and as the organ of civilization, by uniting in its cradle the Semitic and Japhetic element. First preached by Jews, it was carried over the world by the sons of Greece and Rome. Language and civilization, physiology and philology, go hand in hand to illustrate the fact, that Shem and Japhet can no more coalesce into one without splitting, than be kept asunder without exercising upon each other a strong and animating influence.

The distinction between the Semitic and Japhetic tribes is deeply marked no doubt in their language and in their general history. Still, it requires but a glance over the American idioms, not to speak of the Chinese, to become aware of the fact, that the internal affinity of the languages of Shem and Japhet is not founded upon any general similarity in the construction of human speech. Physiology supplies no distinctions between the

two, which are not found between the different families of either stock ; and Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his universal view of languages, considers both families as by character one. According to him, the Semitic tends to what the Japhetic accomplishes. Even before him, many inquiring minds, some led by theological, some by philological, some by historical considerations, took a similar view of a question which has been settled, as I believe, by the recent Egyptian discoveries. But without being aware of the importance of these Egyptian researches, men of scientific character in our time, unwilling to bow under the yoke of the two critical schools of the isolating system, the Sanscrit and the Hebrew, tried to establish the radical affinity between the two great families. And, indeed, if the Japhetic and Semitic nations are of the same stock, and if it cannot be denied that there exists an affinity between many of the roots of their languages, why should we not try to find out a method for ascertaining whether, in spite of the difference of the grammatical system, they are not united radically ? It is true that such an affinity had been rather assumed than proved ; and it must not be forgotten that the proof had been attempted by entirely discredited and unscientific methods. But ought the reaction against such assumptions and proceedings to prevent us from instituting more scientific researches ?

The ruling critical school, reducing everything to, and deducing everything from, Sanscrit, turned a deaf ear to such questions, even after the old Egyptian language had become accessible to every scholar. The heads of the critical Hebrew school, Gesenius and Ewald, had thrown out a hint that, by the reduction of the trilateral Hebrew roots to biliteral ones (proposed already in the seventeenth century), we may find much reason to suspect a radical affinity between Hebrew and Sanscrit. Klaproth had pronounced, without reserve, that it was so, and attempted a proof in the rarest of all linguistic books (1828)*. Ewald, without controverting the assertion, observed, with his usual acuteness, that such etymologies must go beyond the historical age of Semitic forms ; an observation in which Humboldt entirely concurs†, but which evidently does not settle the question. It was only in 1838 and 1840 that two masters of the Hebrew tongue (themselves native Jews), Fürst in Leipzig, and in particular Delitzsch in Halle, endeavoured to break entirely down the wall of partition. Delitzsch acknowledges fully the rules laid down, and the method observed, by the Indo-Germanic scholars : he rejects as strongly as they the former irregular and unscientific method of etymological comparisons ; but he maintains and exemplifies the constant and undeniable analogy between the Indo-Germanic and Semitic roots, and thus establishes fully the claims to a further investigation upon a more extended plan.

Rödiger, the successor of Gesenius at Halle, was led by his own researches concerning the most ancient Arabic forms to similar conclusions. Perhaps he or Delitzsch would even have been led to the establishment of a new and higher principle of investigation, if the great facts which Egyptian philology at that period had already revealed, by Champollion's grammar, to those who were willing to learn, had not been so strangely overlooked by all German scholars. Egypt is the connecting link between both ; and the method of investigation, which the peculiar nature of the Egyptian language demands in order to be understood, cannot but be intimately connected with that which seems requisite to establish the historical connexion between the Semitic and Japhetic languages, by a new and more

* *Observations sur les Racines des Langues Sémitiques* : quoted by Humboldt. See the following note.

† P. ccxxi. and foll. Compare Ewald. Lehrb. § 4.

profound investigation of their differences as well as of their similarity. The rigid Indo-Germanic school has assumed, but never even attempted to prove, that we must reject all proofs of historical affinity not resting upon the identity of inflexions and formative words. Now we agree with that school in maintaining, that analogies in the musical element of language (if I may so call whatever belongs to the peculiarities of intonation, and the greater or less prevalence of one or the other class of sounds) are in themselves as inconclusive reasons for establishing a connexion in kind, as the varieties of colour, the form of leaves, smell, and similar properties are for constituting different species among plants, or as analogies in the colour of hair or of feathers for denying the identity of species among animals. But I can see no ground for the assumption that, where identity or affinity fails in the grammatical forms and their expression, there can be no radical affinity of languages. For it is on this narrow principle that those isolating systems are designedly or unconsciously founded. Now we ask (anticipating what we hope soon fully to establish), what are (according to their own assumption or admission) the syllables or words of inflexions but remnants of some of the substantial roots or words (nouns and verbs), once taken out of the then common stock of integral words, and by a conventional act stamped to be pronouns, prepositions or other particles, which gradually dwindled into inflectional forms? We ask further, this being the case, is it not on the contrary probable, that, as some families are allied both by decayed and living roots, others may be allied by living ones only, the contemporaries of those roots which afterwards became forms and consequently decayed? Should not an agreement in the roots of nouns and verbs be as good evidence of a more remote, but still original connexion and consanguinity, as the agreement in inflexions is allowed to be for the nearest relation between them? Languages related by identity of forms (viz. by roots, once consecrated for grammatical purposes and then decayed) cannot exist at all without an identity or analogy of living roots. Persons related by a common father must have a common grandfather. There can be no identity of grammaticized and therefore defunct roots, without an historical connexion of the same languages in verbs and nouns and their derivatives. But a general affinity in the roots proves a common origin and a common history anterior to that point in the development of a language at which the grammatical forms took their origin; therefore a more remote one. We lay it down as a demonstrated and incontestable fact, that a near affinity between languages is impossible without an identity of structure in the inflexions and the formative words or syllables in general. We have, by a combination of research and philosophical study, established a method to investigate this nearest affinity of families. But why should we despair of finding also a strictly scientific method for investigating a more remote affinity by a comparison of the roots of their substantial words? You have hitherto studied the natural history of the most grammatical (and therefore, I believe, youngest) languages: you have thus found a method for understanding the latest part in the formation, representing therefore, I suppose, the most recent period in the history of human speech. Of course this method will not carry you further; and that is the reason why you have always signally failed, whenever you have attempted to investigate languages beyond that narrow family-connexion, and when you have attempted to establish an affinity between the Iranian stock and a formation anterior to that individual system of forms, as for instance the Basque language. Still we cannot proceed further in comparative philology, and therefore in ethnology, without investigating that problem. We must therefore ask two questions: why should there not be an affinity in

living, and not in decayed roots? and if there is, why should not a method be found to establish it? For if there is an incontestable (although more remote) affinity traceable in languages beyond the inflexions, what, it may be asked, is the method for such an investigation?

To this no answer is supplied by the Indo-Germanic school, any more than by the Semitic disciples of the schools of Gesenius and Ewald. The last-mentioned eminent scholar has enunciated a profound principle, already adverted to, in asserting that the investigation of the undeniable affinity of Sanscritic and Hebrew roots cannot be prosecuted without going beyond these two languages. But he has not further pursued his own investigations*. Some facts have been elicited by Delitzsch, but these establish no method of investigation. And, as we have already indicated, the method, so successfully applied by Bopp in the narrow family circle of the Indo-Germanic nations, cannot be applied to any further research. The inflexions and formative words in the other two families are exactly *not* the same as the Sanscritic: those of most or all of the remaining families of mankind still less. Now is it not a logical error in itself, to attempt to prove the remote affinity of languages by the same method as that of the nearest in kin? Few of the philologists of the critical school will deny, that inflexions and formative particles are the remains of roots; therefore a time existed when those inflexions did not exist. That time, and the relation of languages before that epoch, cannot in consequence be investigated without a methodical inquiry into the living roots and their formation. The further we proceed, the more even the vestiges of the Sanscritic inflexions will disappear.

It seems to me to result from this preliminary view of the nature of languages, that we must leave the strictly grammatical comparisons entirely out of the question, as soon as we extend our researches beyond the nearest degree of affinity; otherwise we must necessarily fail, and contradict ourselves. We might as well try to base comparative anatomy upon principles exclusively deduced from the affinities and differences of the mammalia, or to solve the Keplerian and Newtonian problems by the four species and the Euclidean theorems of plane geometry.

Lepsius, in his 'Essay on the Numerals,' and Dr. Meyer, both in his review of Champollion and Lepsius' 'Hieroglyphic Researches,' and in his criticism on Pictet's 'Celtic Grammar,' have practically shown the insufficiency of the old system, and established beyond doubt the fact, that there exists not only an undeniable community of living roots between the two families, but also that the Egyptian roots present the intermediate link between both, as well

* I must also agree with Ewald in believing, that Dr. E. Meyer has not succeeded in solving (in his *Hebräisches Wurzel-Wörterbuch*, 1845) the great problem of reducing the trilateral Hebrew roots to biliteral. It is impossible not to do justice to the learning and acuteness of the young but distinguished author, himself of Ewald's school; but the principal part of this work (with which I was not acquainted at the time of the Lecture) stands or falls with the fundamental assumption, that the third person masculine of the trilateral Hebrew perfect becomes trilateral by a reduplication analogous to the Sanscrit and Greek perfect. Dr. Carl Meyer's view of the case seems to me much nearer the truth. It is impossible to carry out Dr. E. Meyer's theory without giving up immediately the idea of reduplication. As to his view of the Egyptian and its relation to the Hebrew, I confess that I have been surprised to see a philologer of the German school, and a man of undoubtedly talent and learning, treat the Egyptian as an unorganic aggregate, and maintain that two languages, which are without any original connexion with each other, can have the pronouns in common, as he cannot deny the Egyptian and Hebrew have. I shall make no remark on his etymologies of Egyptian words, and his derivation of the names of the Egyptian gods and goddesses from Semitic divinities. They are far too arbitrary to require a critical examination. Other remarks of his show, that he sees clearly enough that both languages must be most intimately connected.

in words as in forms. Lepsius has proved this in his Treatise on the Numerals, and Dr. Meyer has clearly indicated the elements of the investigation of roots. For myself, I have endeavoured during the last thirty years to establish and carry out certain canons or general rules for conducting this and all further linguistic investigations, and am persuaded that, by a continued combination of inquiry and general reasoning, I have arrived at formulas, which are at least extremely simple, and which every progress in my researches has confirmed. They seem to me to flow from a general principle of successive and necessary evolution, and to be illustrated by incontrovertible facts. I must reserve for my Egyptian work the complete development of this system. In the present treatise I shall confine myself to giving a sketch of the leading elementary phenomena and principles, as far as it seems required for the solution of the problem before us. If under the necessity of advancing more general assertions or assumptions, I shall endeavour to reduce them to their simplest form, and to elucidate them by facts known or accessible to every general reader.

Permit me therefore first to call your attention to some leading phenomena in the development of language. I shall then, in the second place, endeavour to establish philosophically the principle of development in language generally, and the necessary stages of this development. In the third place, I shall attempt to apply these phenomena and principles first to the question immediately connected with the Chamitic, Semitic and Japhetic researches, and finally, to the general problem of classifying the great families of languages, and of determining how far we are at present enabled to place all known families in a line of successive development, and how far that series represents members of a common stock by physical descent. We hope thus to advance some steps towards the solution of the problem before us,—the relative place of the language of Egypt in the history of the world, and the affinity and relative position of the principal families of mankind.

The phenomena of Language as to the vestiges of its formation, development and decay.

The origin of language is enveloped in deep mystery. It is only by a patient investigation of facts, and by generalizing those facts as far as we safely can, that we may hope to establish a fair test for a speculative view of the general principles of its formation.

For the investigation of facts concerning the gradual formation of a language, the extent of alterations it can undergo without losing the unity of its existence, its individuality as it were, and the changes to which it can be subjected in consequence of a violent crisis, the most natural method seems to be to examine the origin and gradual formation of those languages where the necessary facts are generally known, or at least most easily ascertainable. These are the Romanic or Latinic, and the modern German and Scandinavian languages. The former were formed out of decayed and decaying Latin. With the exception of the Vlachic, or the language formed with an admixture of Slavonic words, they are the tongues of the South of modern Europe. They were formed out of the Latin in consequence of the settlement of one or other of the advancing German tribes in romanized countries, inhabited, as to the numerical majority of the inhabitants, by a Celtic population, which in former ages had in some of them succeeded to an Iberian. This is the origin of the Italian, the Provençal, the French, the Spanish and the Portuguese languages; the two latter have received since, through the ascendancy of the Moors, an admixture of Arabic.

We have here clearly two great elements. The German tribes, who destroyed the Roman empire, were the instigating causes of the utter decay

of the declining Roman language, the native tongue of Italy for ages, and introduced into the other countries by military colonization. This language had been adopted by the Celtic population imperfectly, but to such an extent that they gradually forgot their own language, not being gifted with sufficient formative capacity to master and incorporate the intruding element. The energetic and conquering German tribes did possess this capacity, and gradually made the mixed Germano-Latin language the badge of their young nationality.

The remodeling cause of the formation of those languages was therefore Germanic. The element upon which it worked was the Latin tongue, represented by a decaying Roman nationality, which (with the exception of Italy proper) had been engrafted in the South upon a Celtic, and in Valachia upon a Slavonic population. The active movement of the Germanic mind, operating upon the subject Roman population, dissolved, and as it were burst the compact structure of the Latin tongue. Thus Germanic words were first substituted for Latin, but only in respect to the nouns and verbs. As for the particles and the degenerate inflexional forms, the old ones were superseded by the substitution of periphrastic forms, derived however from the Latin and not from the Germanic stem. Thus the words *eis* and *ultra* (originally *uls*) disappeared. The Italian says, *al di qua*, *al di là*; the French, *au (en) delà*, *au (par) delà*, which gives, as the original form, the Latin words, *ad illud de qua (parte)*, and *de illo* or *per illud de illā*. In the same way *dorénavant* replaces *abhinc*. To understand the origin of this phrase we must reduce it to the barbaric periphrasis, *de hora in ab ante*. The most palpable proof that conjunctions represent a whole sentence is the Italian *conciossiecosache* instead of *quamquam*, literally, *cum hoc sit causa quod*. The gradual decay and disappearance of the neuter gender in the substantives may be traced in the popular dialect from the third century to the year 1000 of our era, when the utmost confusion prevailed among the ruins of the magnificent language of ancient Rome, and nowhere more than in Rome itself and its neighbourhood. The cases of the noun gave way to declensions formed by two prepositions, *ad* and *de*, taken from the Latin stock, and coalescing with the wreck of the pronoun *ille*, which became the article of the Romanic languages, the first part in Italian, the second in French. In the same way the Latin conjugation disappeared more or less under the influence of a periphrastic formation, by the help of *esse* and *habere*; thus here also the elements were taken from the Latin stem. And it is worthy of remark, that the Germanic nations had themselves as complete inflexional declensions as the Latin; they also possessed the article like the Greek; but their conjugation of the past and future tenses was decidedly defective, and was therefore necessarily supplied by the periphrastic use of the verbs *to be* and *to have*. In both cases we see how the remodeling element influenced the new formations from the Latin. Still the change which took place was only indirectly effected by the Germans; directly it was the work of the Latin nations, mixed with those Germans who had destroyed the old world of Greece and Rome, upon a language, the decay of which had followed the decline and fall of the Empire. Thus the languages of southern Europe have all Latin grammatical forms and particles, with a strong admixture of German words (besides the Celtic, and in Spain moreover the Arabic), nouns and verbs introduced by the conquering race, which adopted the established language, strengthened by literature and the liturgy.

We find absolutely the same phenomenon in the formation of the modern Persian and the Turkish. Both formations were influenced by the language and civilization of the leading Mahomedan nation, the Arabs. The grammatical forms with the pronouns and other particles are from the original

stock, Persian in the one, Turkish in the other. But the modern Persian has one-half of Arabic words, and the elegant Turkish still more foreign elements, Persian or Arabic.

The mixture in the Romanic languages is between two tongues of the same Iranian family; that in the Persian is between an Iranian and a Semitic; finally, that of the Turkish has besides the admixture of a third family, widely different from either.

In all of them we find that the new tongue was created through what we may call a secondary formation, having as substratum a decaying old language, which we may consider as the primary one. The secondary formation discarded the ancient grammatical forms, and most of the particles; but it kept the radical part of the nouns and verbs, introducing from the new intruding elements only substantial words. That portion of the words which had no longer any definite or substantial, but only a formal or ideal signification, disappeared almost entirely. The want was supplied by a new creative act, which, operating upon a highly organized language, produced a great decomposition of ancient forms.

This was more especially the case with the Romanic languages. It was quite otherwise with the Teutonic languages in Germany. The Germans found there partly the Celtic, partly the Slavonic elements. But such was the vitality of the formative process of the rising Germanic race upon the sporadic old elements, that only single words entered from those languages; even from the Latin, the language of civilization and of Christianity, they took only a few single nouns and still fewer verbs. A comparison of the Germanic languages with the old Scandinavian and the Gothic, combined with a more profound study of the Slavonic, and particularly of the Celtic, seems to be the safest method of detecting their Slavonic and Celtic roots; for the Scandinavian and Gothic are either entirely or in a great degree free from them.

But all these roots have been prolific, having admitted all the German inflexions, and lent themselves to derivations and compositions like the original Teutonic roots. These foreign elements have not therefore exercised a disorganising influence upon the German language. How then has the language of Goethe grown out of that of Ulphilas, by a development uninterrupted since the year 600, and still so different from the old form, that no German can, without a study like that of the classical languages, understand one line of Ulphilas' translation of the Bible in 380, nor even is able without a certain effort to comprehend (although that is a comparatively easy task) the national epic, the Nibelungen, in its most modern text of 1200? Charlemagne could not have understood one word of the speech which his fiftieth successor on the throne of the German empire made a thousand years after his coronation, that is to say, after the native tongue had passed through thirty-four mothers. Many words of the ancient idiom are lost in the modern, and the grammatical forms have been undergoing a continual process of reduction. Instead of our present periphrastic conjugation of the passive, we had in the Gothic, as in the Icelandic, an organic form. In like manner, in the ancient idiom of the Franks, instead of our periphrastic mode of expressing after the verbs of perception and thought, the compound object (substantive and verb) by the particle *that*, we find the direct construction of the accusative with the infinitive, or the still more intuitive Greek construction through the participle. On the whole, the abstractions increase in the process of the language. In the same way, the roots and words (particularly the verbs) receive more and more a less material, therefore freer, more intellectual or metaphorical sense; and the original material signification disappears.

The Hebrew began to become unintelligible to the Jews after the Babylonian Captivity, the Latin to the Italians after the settlement of the Germanic tribes ; the Gothic itself became extinct by the destruction of their empires and their mixture with other tribes and nations ; and the old Frank language cannot be considered as its direct continuation : but the language of Otfried, a thousand years ago, alphabetically fixed and possessing a literature like our own, has become unintelligible for the last five centuries to the direct descendants of the Carlovingian race, without any intervening great catastrophe of the nation, or any violent and lasting intrusion of foreign elements. The epochs of the language are indeed marked by great events, political and national. The present German language has been fixed, after a very unsettled state, by Luther's translation of the Bible, by the uninterrupted series of German hymns since the Reformation, by the course of regular preaching, reading and instructing in that same dialect, and finally by the modern literature of Germany.

We seem therefore to be authorized to draw from the phenomena, observed as well in the Romanic as in the Germanic languages, the following conclusions :—

1. Language changes by the very action of the national mind upon it ; involving a process of filing down of roots, forms and inflexions, and producing new derivative or compound words. There takes place through this same agency an unceasing advance of words and expressions from substantiality (or materialism) to formalism, or from the natural to the metaphorical, from the physical to the intellectual, from the concrete to the abstract.

2. An alphabet and literature fix a tongue as it were by a process of instantaneous crystallization of the floating elements of the national consciousness of language ; but they do not prevent the change of the spoken dialect. Languages, artificially preserved in a fixed state (*e.g.* by religious institutions), become obsolete and dead : so the Hebrew, the Zend, the Sanscrit, the old Egyptian and Abyssinian. A new popular language is created gradually by an under current, and national events make it a written and national language.

3. The formation of a new language always presupposes the decay of another. Such new formations must be both hastened and greatly influenced by the violent intrusion of a foreign element. This element cannot substitute a new grammar, unless it abolishes the language (as the Anglo-Saxon did the Kymric) ; but it can produce a *mixed language*, the grammar of which is of the native, the words, for the most part, of the foreign stem. The change in the natural course is an organic development, the broken and mixed idiom shows a less organic structure. The natural feeling and understanding of words, as significative, becomes as it were dimmer, because the roots often disappear, whereas derivations remain, and foreign words are introduced, having none but a conventional signification. On the other hand, whenever the organic movement of the language has been interrupted by an extraneous element and great national catastrophes, the native elements in the mixed language will often keep the ancient form, whereas the native stock, left to its own natural development, will use up and loose it.

Of this phenomenon the Germanic languages offer a most remarkable instance in the origin and development of the English tongue. By the Conquest, the language of the Anglo-Saxon people was driven from the palace, the legislation and the tribunals : gradually however the conquering Norman minority adopted the language of the country : the Normans could not overthrow the Saxon foundation of England's idiom, as the Saxons had done that of the Celto-British. Out of the struggle of the two idioms arose a *mixed*

language like the modern Persian. But there is in the English a more organic intermixture of the two elements than in the Persian, because the two constituent parts were not so different from each other in origin and formation as Arabic and Persian, or Semitic and Iranian. The Persian forms a new verb by placing *kerden* (to do), or a similar Persian verb, after an Arabic word. In English we have purely hybrid words by the blending of English roots and Romanic formative syllables, such as *unspeakable*, *starvation*, and the obsolete English word, still found in the seventeenth century, and preserved by the Americans, to *happify*. But such formations constitute the very extreme limit of formative power, and they even appear on the whole as anomalies. The inverse formation of English words out of Latin roots and Germanic affirmatives is much more extensive, such as *common-er*, *common-est*; and this is a consequence of the principle, that the formative grammatical element works itself into a new, although not quite congenial matter, not the intruding lexicographic element into the grammatical. The old Saxon form is thus much more easily adapted to French and Latin verbs or nouns, than a formative syllable of the French or Latin idiom combined with the Saxon root. New prepositions and conjunctions have been formed; none of which are *Latin*, all are German (as, *by way of*) or hybrid (as, "on account of"). As in the Romanic, they are compounded in order to replace forms which have either become obsolete, or are no longer sufficiently expressive or intelligible, owing to the primary principle or spirit of the formation having become weakened and obscured. But the power of composition inherent in all Teutonic languages is almost entirely paralysed, and the organic forms of inflexion remain only in isolated fragments.

It follows from the same principle that *colonization* also may produce such a crisis, as is necessary for the formation of a new language. But here a more accurate distinction must be drawn. A part of the nation, settling in a more or less organized state, with more or less intellectual means and resources, in a foreign country, isolated from the mother-country, will necessarily in process of time differ in language from the native stock. It is evident that the formation of the colonial language has a new fixed point in the emigration and immigration, and may therefore follow a very different course from that of the mother-country. Peaceable and intelligent colonists, settled in a new country under prosperous circumstances, will preserve the ancient idiom with great pertinacity. The separation acts as an artificial interruption of the flow of language, while the inhabitants of the mother-country become subject perhaps to violent changes, introduced by foreign elements, or move on in the natural course of development, as the Frank language did in Germany, from Otfried to Goethe.

Of this class we have a most instructive instance, within the domain of the German language, in the Icelandic, which is the old Norse tongue transplanted into that northern island by the emigration of many noble families unable longer to endure the tyranny of King Harald Harfagr (Fairhair). That event took place in the year 875. Since that period therefore, during the lapse of almost a thousand years, the intellectuality of the Teutonic stock, and the energy of the Norman race, have maintained in the midst of snow and ice the sacred fire of the Muses. The most ancient document of Icelandic literature is still heathenish,—I mean the poetical *Edda*, or the songs of Odin, and Helge and Sigurd, and of all the gods and heroes of our common forefathers. The clearest proof that the language of these songs represents simply the old Norse is, that the law book of 1123 exhibits already a decidedly impoverished system of inflexions, whereas in the *Edda* we find that richness and completeness of forms, which places the old Icelandic on the

same level with the Gothic of the fourth century. Again, if we compare that work with the remarkable historical compositions of the historian Snorro Sturleson, of the thirteenth century, and with the writings of the last centuries, we find in rapid progress the gradual extinction above referred to of the grammatical forms of the language. Still, if from the Icelandic of this day we look back to its native country, we find among the descendants of the same stock two modern idioms formed out of the old Norse, the Swedish and Danish, neither intelligible to the other without some practice, and each as unintelligible to the Icelander, as his tongue, and still more his Edda, is, and has been for the last four hundred years at least, to the Dane and Swede; whereas the Icelander of 1840 can understand with a little practice the Norse of more than a thousand years ago. Thus their evulsion from the stem, and their subsequent isolation, preserved among the Icelanders the ancient heirloom of their fathers so long and so successfully, that the colonial language and that of the mother-country became for ever distinct, the first being even now scarcely anything but the language of Scandinavia, suddenly fixed in the ninth century, and since that time shorn only of some of its luxuriant forms. We have already observed that every new language is produced by what we have called the secondary formation. Such a secondary formation is scarcely traceable in Icelandic, while it is much more visible in the Swedish and Danish. In the new Icelandic we can only quote the formations of new abstract words; all other differences consist simply in the loss of ancient forms. As to the old Icelandic, a comparison with the Gothic and some isolated formations of a very primitive nature show that the new formation by which the Scandinavian branch obtained a distinct character, was equally marked as well by loss of forms as by the prominent working out of elements which in the old united stock were less developed, but stood there by the side of collateral forms dropped in the Scandinavian. The old Norse article *hinn*, *hinna*, *hit*, has been supplanted by the new Scandinavian article, and has transformed itself into a suffix appended to the noun. It has lost consequently its whole declension, and of the three genders of the ancient article *one*, two have survived in that suffix; one common for masculine and feminine, and one for the neuter.

The Dutch itself, which is nothing but a scion of the great Saxon or Low German dialect, individualized and fixed by the national separation and independence, has changed less than that dialect has done in the mother-country. Finally, the same case occurs in the Anglo-Saxon. The idiom of the Anglo-Saxon remains of the ninth century is decidedly impoverished in forms and inflexions, if compared with the anterior state of the language, represented by the Gothic of Ulphilas, which must be considered as collateral with that which the Saxons, Hengist and Horsa, brought with them from Germany. But it is no less decidedly nearer to that preceding period than the documents of the Saxon dialect in German allow us to suppose this to have been at the same period. Finally, according to good authorities, the English of the sixteenth century has become fixed in some English colonies of that time, *e.g.* as to pronunciation; and in the same manner the French in Canada seems the language of Louis XIV. Before three centuries elapse a new instance will be supplied by the difference between the English of America and that of Europe. To the critical observer this difference is already very marked in the retention of forms and pronunciations of the seventeenth century, and by new Americanisms in formation and signification. The American is in phraseology more open to European influences than the insular English of the mother country.

We have therefore undoubted instances of the fact, that a colonial trans-

plantation of a language may put a stop to the continuous flow of its development, and preserve the ancient form of speech more fully than in the mother country. But all the cases which we can quote of this description, are taken from the same family of languages, one which, in its most ancient form, presents itself in a state of complete development, as compared with others.

Besides, all those secondary formations were the work of rising nations. In those processes a considerable decomposition of the old element necessarily preceded the new formation; but there was also a new impulse, a growing life. A widely different effect must of course be produced upon the language of a colony, if the emigrant or expelled population sinks from a relatively superior and growing intellectual and physical station to a lower. The new society may then gradually fall into a very different state of existence, either through the inclemency of the climate, extreme cold or extreme heat, or from other, perhaps concomitant, unfavourable circumstances, such as the persecution and enmity of more powerful tribes. Now every lasting contraction of the mind must produce a corresponding reduction of the means of expression. Thus the present Laplanders, a Finnic population, having been driven by the Swedes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries out of their native land, and pressed more and more towards the polar regions, have a language much impoverished and disorganized, as compared with their Finnic brethren in Finland. There seems to have been no positive secondary formation among the Laplanders: they have lost many forms and words; but on the other side, they have also preserved with colonial tenacity, and as it were pious anxiety, many ancient forms (such as the dual of the pronouns), which has been lost by the Finns. Swedish words have been introduced by Christianity, evidently because the native expressions had become obsolete; for the Finns express the same ideas by native words. When we consider what would have become of the Laplanders, if Christianity had not upheld them, and if the translation of the Bible had not fixed and preserved their language, we shall not be very much surprised by the fact, that the idiom of the degraded Bushmen (whom Linnæus identified with the Orang-utang), cruelly hunted by Hottentots and Kafres, can be traced to be a corrupt Hottentot language, and that the Hottentot language itself is only a degraded dialect of the noble language of Sechuána and other branches of the Kafre tribes, the oppressors of the Hottentots.

We must therefore distinguish the phenomena of rising and sinking languages. Finally, we must acknowledge the possibility of a new formation, as the consequence of emigration. A language in a state of incipient development, if transplanted by that great cause of the formation of nations and languages, perhaps of races, emigration into a totally new stage of existence, may shoot out into a luxuriant new formation, which in process of time may almost entirely overgrow the primary one, and destroy all vestiges of the ancient roots. It will then require a very complete knowledge of the new idioms, and of the history of their development, to discover the primitive roots of the ancient stock. Perhaps a new method may be found to supply this want by the evidence of analogy of structure. But in our present stage of inquiry we can only establish such a possibility, not define the condition and nature of such formations, and the method of analysis which they require.

The Egyptian language however brings us some steps nearer to this important point. Egypt must be a colony from the undivided Asiatic stock; for its language is much less developed than the Semitic and Sanscritic, and yet admits the principle of those inflexions and radical formations, which we find developed, sometimes in one, sometimes in the other of those great families. *As both the Asiatic tongues in their individualized form are much more ad-*

vanced than the Egyptian, this language points necessarily to a more ancient Asiatic formation, since extinct in its native country, just as the Icelandic points to the old Norse of Scandinavia.

The Egyptian language is also interesting, as illustrative generally of another phenomenon, which we traced through more modern formations; I mean the nature of the secondary Egyptian formation exhibited by the Coptic. In order to obtain a clear view of this formation, we must first deduct all the words taken from the Greek. As to this admixture, we meet with an entirely new phenomenon: the Coptic has not only adopted single nouns and verbs, living roots, but also particles, especially conjunctions in the proper sense, such as the Greek *ἀλλά, but*. This forms no exception to the rule above deduced from that striking phenomenon in the Romanic and Germanic languages, that foreign particles are as little apt to expel native ones as in general foreign grammatical forms to supplant the native; for the Egyptian language never had discriminating particles. In translations therefore from the Greek, the Copts were obliged to adopt the Greek conjunctions, for the same reason for which they took the word *Λαός, nation*; for, owing to provincialism, Pharaohs, and priests, the idea of a nation had never been developed even into a word among the Egyptian race.

The other secondary formations are also in entire conformity with those by which the modern tongues of Southern Europe, as well as of Germany and Scandinavia, were produced. We have marked some of these phenomena already in the first volume of 'Egypt,' such as the change of the appended feminine sign of the old Egyptian *t*, (the remnant of *ta*, the original pronoun of the second person, preserved in *an-ta, thou*,) into a female article *t* or *ti*, e. g. *t-mu*, the mother, instead of *mu-t*. To this class belong also the formations of the definite and indefinite articles in Coptic. The first (*pi* or *pe*, masc.; *ti* or *te*, fem.; *ni, n, nen*, pl.) is an evident remnant of the pronominal formations, exactly as the Greek article and the masculine and feminine termination in the two first declensions are. The indefinite article (*u*) in the singular is, like the German and Romanic, an abbreviation of the numeral for *one* (*ua*): the plural (*han*) has its full substantial root in ancient Egyptian. The plural of a noun substantive has a termination only by exception; but instead of the *u* of the ancient language we find different decompositions of this long vowel, together with other forms, not at all discernible in the ancient language. One of them is the prolongation of the vowel of the root; an inward formation, so frequent in the Semitic, and analogous to the German Umlaut in *Väter*, the plural of *Vater*. Thus *uhor* means a dog; *uhör*, dogs; *aho*, a treasure; *ahuör*, treasures; *bök*, a servant; *ebiaik*, servants. A complete pseudo-declension is formed by prepositions connected with pronominal roots, thus:—

Nom. *ndje*, or *m* or *n*

Gen. *nte* " "

Dat. " " "

Acc. " " "

Abl. " " "

In a similar mechanical mode the deficiency of forms in the ancient Egyptian for the comparative and superlative degree is supplied, and the derivative pronouns are formed. The most striking change in these formations is the Coptic phrase *p.ek.si, δ σοῦν viós* (corresponding to the old Egyptian *pai.k.si*); but the Coptic has lost the simpler ancient form of *si. k, viós oov*. The same principle pervades the Coptic conjugation. It differs from the Egyptian as much in the loss of some very simple ancient modes for indicating the inflexion of the verb, as in the employment of a great number of auxiliary

verbs, for supplying an evident defect by new formations. These auxiliary verbs unite with the personal pronouns, and thus form a very periphrastic mode of distinguishing moods and tenses. The negative particles do the same; and the Coptic has a complete periphrastic negative conjugation, of which there is not the slightest trace in the old Egyptian. The old language seems to me to preserve the indubitable germs of two much more organic and higher forms. It shows a germ first of what I beg to call the Semitic conjugation, by which term I designate the modification of the *predicate* contained in each adjective verb, and even of the Sanscritic conjugation, which is intended to mark the modifications of which the *copula* is capable, according to time and mode of existence. Now the development of those germs in the Coptic is not organic, as we find it in Hebrew and in Sanscrit, but on the contrary effected by a purely mechanical process. The change is no real development. Thus the verb *tre* or *thre*, uniting itself with the pronominal affixes, makes a verb causative, as the Hebrew Hiphil does.

The ancient Egyptian had uncontestedly the germs of the composition of words to express, by the union of two, a third, more abstract or ideal notion, for which the language had no simple expression. Such an union originally took place by juxtaposition, later by means of the preposition *n*. Coptic formations, like *mū-n-hād*, water of moisture, viz. rain, or *ûdm-n-het*, to consume the heart, viz. repent, are analogous to the ancient language, but much more frequent. In many cases the original simple expressions may have become obsolete by having become unintelligible. Besides, there must have been in progress of time an increased consciousness of intellectual modes of existence; and this consciousness called forth necessarily new formations in the Coptic. But such formations are all conglomerations or agglutinations of words, not compositions. The component parts exercise no influence one over the other; no change is produced in the root by placing before or after it a modifying word or particle; but the ancient Egyptian language exhibits such an attraction. The Egyptian root is not the unalterable particle, or rather sentence-word, of the Chinese, and, in composition, of the modern Coptic. *Hûr*, Horus, becomes in composition *hr*, *hér*. Here a decided sensibility of the root is perceptible: it is affected by the substantive which follows it, and with which it is united. This is the same sign of life which a substantive shows in the Hebrew *status constructus*, when followed by another substantive with which it is connected, by what we call the relation of the genitive case: as *iám*, a lake; *iäm* (or *iöm*) *Kineret*, the lake of Gennesaret; *shāndh*, a year; *shnät-adonái*, the year of the Lord. All Coptic abstracts and derivative nouns are formed by mechanical processes or mere juxtaposition: in order to make from *skhópi*, to inhabit, a word for habitation, they must say, a place to inhabit, *má-skhópi*. Thus *hap* is judgement, *manhap*, a place of judgement, tribunal. In a similar way they form out of *tao*, honour; *maitao*, ambitious; literally, loving honour. There is no power manifested by one word over the other, as in *φιλάνθρωπος*, or *misericors*, or *barmherzig*. It is a mere mechanical agglomeration of the two words connected by a preposition and having one accent. Much less of course is this the case in hybrid words; for the Greek nouns used by the Copts have neither case nor number. *Rem* (native), with the preposition ' or *n*, both prefixed to a simple noun, form derivative adjectives; *pe*, heaven; *rem-pe*, heavenly. *Ref* (probably from *ra*, to make, with the nominal formative *f*), the maker, is used in order to form a verb or substantive denoting him who exercises the function, or causes the action expressed by the verb, as *nau*, to see; *refnau*, an inspector; *ref-mûüt*, qui affert mortem, the killer. The intermixture

of the article makes such formations still more clumsy, as, in order to express vision, they say *sapināū, actio (rōū) videre.*

Those who understand the principle of the formation of words in the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages, will immediately perceive that the first have some, and the latter an inexhaustible abundance of terminations, variously affecting the root, and indicating all the shades of the different modes of existence and action, which the Coptic expresses very incompletely and clumsily by mere agglomeration. The decomposing principle which we observed in the formation of the new Romanic words, especially the particles, prevails throughout in the Coptic. But it acted differently, because the Latin was a developed, perfect, inflexional language; the ancient Egyptian was a form of speech only just emerging from the monosyllabic state and the absolute isolation of words.

The intrusion of foreign elements, from the time of Alexander, helped to destroy what there was of organic power in the Egyptian language; but it was not the original cause of that destruction. It was the effect of the slowness of the Egyptian mind, which had long been mummified, acting upon a material repugnant to development, and stereotyped by colonization, by the hieroglyphic system of writing, and by a complete system of priesthood, religious tradition, and Pharaonic despotism. This slow action upon an almost impenetrable material produced, for the uses of common life, a secondary formation, the country-tongue, written in the less idiographic, demotic or enchorial character. This secondary formation is of the same kind as the secondary formation of later languages; in degree it differs less: there is also less of the destruction of forms, because only a germ of forms existed altogether in the Egyptian language.

It follows from the same circumstance, that there can be, in the ordinary sense of the word, no secondary formation in the modern Chinese, or the modern and familiar style, as compared with the old style. The modern style indulges in the use of words which correspond to the expletive particles and conjunctions of our languages: but it must not be overlooked, that, even in modern Chinese, these sounds still represent nouns or verbs, or full roots, according to the expressive terminology of the Chinese grammarians. Strictly speaking, there are no exclusively grammatical words or forms in the modern Chinese any more than in the old; the roots may in most cases lose their meaning, when indicating what our particles and connections express, but not their formation. The root remains what it is, incapable of change: it loses neither quantity nor accent. It is merely used as a conventional expression for what the ancient language did not express at all. Not a step is made towards the use of affixes or suffixes, much less towards inflexions.

The Chinese language, with some similar structures in Eastern Asia, forms, as Wilhelm von Humboldt has been the first to establish in all its extent, a contrast to all other languages, not so much by any defect, or from the external fact of its being monosyllabic, as by its totally opposite view of the means of attaining the end of all language. This end is the construction of a sentence, the expression of a logical proposition by a subject, predicate, and copula, with all their dependencies.

All other languages not only express more or less perfectly, the component parts of a sentence, but have also words deputed solely for that purpose (particles), or inflexions, destined to bring audibly before the hearer the mutual relations of nouns and verbs to each other. Besides, all other languages have more or less distinct forms for those different component parts of a sentence; as the noun for the subject, the verb for the predicate, and generally also for the copula. The old Chinese has no such tendency whatever; and

nobody will ever understand its nature and do justice to its incomparable perfection, if he applies to it the forms and categories of the grammars of the rest of the world. As Humboldt says, the other languages have an etymological and a syntactic part, but the Chinese has only a syntactic one; and this Chinese syntax may be comprehended under two rules: that the determinative precedes the word determined, and that the object follows the word on which it depends. All other syntactic rules, even those which appear as exceptions, can be explained from these two simple principles. Thus *position* alone points out the verb in a sentence: what precedes it next is either its own determinative (adverb), or the subject, which may equally be preceded by its determinative, the relation of genitive in particular. Finally, every one of these words is like the other: not only are all monosyllables, that is to say, have an accent of their own, which separates them from the preceding or following syllable or particle; but, moreover, every one of these monosyllabic words may be interpreted as a verb, or substantive, or adjective, or as a grammatical particle,—an empty word, as the Chinese grammarians say. The difference of tone or accent by which that word is to be pronounced,—and every one may have four, and on an average has three accents,—is an accessory help to find out in what sense it is to be taken in a given position. If a word changes from its original verbal sense into a nominal, or *vice versa*, it changes its accent*. Thus, what other languages effect by affixes or inflexions, the Chinese indicates by two means, quite distinct from the formation of the word; by the architectonical arrangement of words, and by a musical change in the pronunciation. Add to this, that the Chinese language has only 450 syllable-words, which by the variation of the accent become 1203, and you will agree with me, that, if the Chinese is considered as a structure like ours, and all other languages, it would be the most imperfect. So indeed it is, as speech, for practical purposes; for in spite of accents, position, and traditional tact, no Chinese would understand the spoken language, still less the old one, which very seldom uses grammatical particles, without the help of repetitions, expletives, pauses, and finally of gestures, which all are necessary to supply, to a certain degree, what in writing is effected by innumerable ideographic, now wholly conventional, signs, which constitute a sort of general or pasigraphic system of writing, destined, not to express the sound, but to help to guess the meaning of the word. It can be proved that this system of writing was originally figurative, as the ideographic part of the Egyptian is: and indeed, if we understand the nature of the oldest form of language, it must have been so. But we venture to say, that not only is the present system of Chinese writing the wreck of a still more peculiar and primitive form, but the spoken language also.

The Chinese formation is in its principle, as this is visibly enough preserved in the old style, among languages, what the inorganic formations are in the kingdoms of nature. Its component parts are not organically articulated words as parts of speech, but crystals of thought, employed architectonically in building up a sentence, which is made more intelligible by musical enunciation. Accent and position give each crystal a more or less prominent part in this symmetric arrangement; but each is in itself a complete, though not an explicit, sentence, whether appearing more as a noun or as a verb. Thus every word has in itself a fullness of life and value, of which it can only be deprived, by making the substance, quality, existence or action, all which lie enshrined in it, merely the sign or symbol of determination or of relation to another word, that is to say, to another substance, quality, existence or action, or to the whole sentence. According to the Chinese formation, every word

* Humboldt, Lettre, p. 24, and Rémusat's note (4) to it.

(or syllable) is an undeveloped sentence; or, if we follow out the analogy with nature (which to us is by no means a mere metaphor), we may say, every word spoken in a sentence is a magnetized mineral, forming itself without any outward change into polarity (the nominal and the verbal pole), and thus having for its centre, as the indifferent point between the two, the adjective-participle quality. Position, assisted by accent, elicits the polarity required, or reduces the word to its indifferent point. Suppose the creative human mind absorbed in this first formative process of speech, and you will allow that it must shrink, during the power of that process over the mind, from the notion of having its produce treated as an imperfect plant or a maimed animal formation. Only by decay does such a language acquire a superficial and deceptive likeness to the formations of our languages. It is intrinsically the very opposite of them. It has a life of its own, capable of manifold development and endless variety; and it cannot receive an essentially different one without ceasing to exist, just as a plant may grow on soil formed by the calcined mineral, but the mineral can never develop itself into a plant.

Now, if we consider that almost half of mankind speak in tongues of this nature, you will agree with me that it is worth while to consider well its original and peculiar character, before we pronounce for or against the genealogical unity of the human race.

I believe you will also agree with me, that, in order to see whether a method can be proposed for finding out the probability, and gradually the certainty, of the one or the other solution of our great problem, we must enter into a philosophical consideration of language itself in general.

Philosophical considerations on the origin of Languages, and the principle of development in them.

The theories about the origin of language have followed those about the origin of thought, and have shared their fate. The materialists have never been able to show the possibility of the first step. They attempt to veil their inability by the easy, but fruitless assumption of an infinite space of time, destined to explain the gradual development of animals into men; as if millions of years could supply the want of the agent necessary for the first movement, for the first step in the line of progress! No numbers can effect a logical impossibility. How indeed could reason spring out of a state which is destitute of reason? How can speech, the expression of thought, develop itself, in a year or in millions of years, out of unarticulated sounds, which express feelings of pleasure, pain, and appetite? Animal sounds are the echoes of blind instincts within, or of the phenomena of the outward world, uttered by suffering or satisfied animal nature, and in all cases resulting from mere passiveness. The common sense of mankind will therefore always shrink from such theories. So did the mind of Frederic the Great, in his memorable answer to d'Alembert and his school. He protested against what he calls the *salto mortale*, which that school wanted him to make, from a monkey to man, from reasonlessness to reason. In our times nobody has expressed himself more strongly against such a materialist explanation of language than the greatest and most acute anatomizer of almost all human tongues, Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his admirable Letter to Abel Rémusat on the nature of grammatical forms in general, and on the genius of the Chinese language in particular*, a letter which contains all the germs of his posthu-

* Lettre à M. Abel Rémusat sur la nature des formes grammaticales en général, et sur la génie de la langue chinoise en particulier, par M. G. de Humboldt. Paris, 1827, 8vo. M. Abel Rémusat, who published himself this letter, has added his valuable remarks as to the points

mous German work, and therefore is an almost indispensable introduction to the study and understanding of that gigantic concentration of learning and reflection. As to the general speculative grounds for such a view, in opposition to the materialist theories of French and English philosophers of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, they have been established most accurately by Kant, and developed by his illustrious successors. To reproduce Monboddo's theory in our days, after Kant and his followers, is a sorry anachronism; and I therefore regret that so low a view should have been taken of the subject lately, in an English work of much correct and comprehensive reflection and research respecting natural science. I deplore that a man of so much thought should have been carried away by a narrow philosophical theory, and perhaps besides by a violent reaction against dead dogmatism and formalism. But its counterpart, the spiritualist system of philosophy, has not been able either to give a totally satisfactory explanation of the phenomena, and in particular of the origin of language, and therefore has not been able to drive the other theory from the field; for as the one cannot take the step from matter to thought, so the other cannot take that from thought to matter. Absolute spiritualism contradicts nature, as materialism contradicts mind: it has reality and history against it as much as its opposite. According to its one-sided notions all development in language descends from the height of consciousness to a state of decline. It justly disclaims the savage as the prototype of natural, original man; for linguistic inquiry shows that the languages of savages are degraded, decaying fragments of nobler formations. The language of the Bushman, as we have observed before, is a degraded Hottentot language, and this language is likely to be only a depravation of the noble Kafre tongue. But, on the other side, when that school pretends, as Frederic Schlegel does, that in the noblest languages, those of organic structure, as he calls them, the spiritual and abstract signification of roots is the original, such an assumption is contradicted by the history of every language of the world. Nay, his whole distinction between organic and atomistic languages is decidedly unhistorical. The African languages in particular protest against such an unholy divorce in the human race. As to ourselves, we believe with Kant, that the formation of ideas or notions, embodied in words, presupposes the action of the senses, and the on which his opinion had differed or still differed with the views developed by Humboldt. We shall quote here two passages. P. 55. Speaking of the origin of the most perfect languages, the author says,—“Je ne crois pas qu'il faille supposer chez les nations auxquelles on est redevable de ces langues admirables des facultés plus qu'humaines, ou admettre qu'elles n'ont point suivi la marche progressive, à laquelle les nations sont assujetties: mais je suis pénétré de la conviction, qu'il ne faut pas méconnaître cette force vraiment divine que recèlent les facultés humaines, ce génie créateur des nations, surtout dans l'état primitif où toutes les idées et même les facultés de l'âme empruntent une force plus vive de la nouveauté des impressions, où l'homme peut pressentir des combinaisons auxquelles il ne serait jamais arrivé par la marche lente et progressive de l'expérience. Ce génie créateur peut franchir les limites qui semblent présentes au reste des mortels, et s'il est impossible de retracer sa marche, sa présence vivifiante n'est pas moins manifeste. Plutôt que de renoncer, dans l'explication de l'origine des langues, à l'influence de cette cause puissante et prémière, et de leur assigner à toutes une marche uniforme et mécanique qui les traînerait pas-à-pas depuis le commencement le plus grossier jusqu'à leur perfectionnement, j'embrasserais l'opinion de ceux qui rapportent l'origine des langues à une révélation immédiate de la Divinité. Ils reconnaissent au moins l'étincelle divine qui luit à travers tous les idiomes, même les plus imparfaits et les moins cultivés.”

In p. 71, when refuting the notion that the Chinese language represents the babbling of children, he has these remarkable words:—“Des nations peuvent se trouver à différentes époques des progrès de leurs langues par rapport à cet accroissement, mais jamais par rapport au développement primitif. Une nation ne peut jamais, pas même pendant l'âge d'une seule génération, conserver ce qu'on nomme *le parler enfantin*. Or ce qu'on veut appliquer à la langue chinoise tient précisément à ce parler, et au prémier développement du langage.”

impression made by outward objects on the mind, as much as the formative power of the reacting mind. It is the mind which creates and forms ; but this power of the mind is one reacting only upon impressions received from the world without. We believe Leibnitz perfectly right in his great saying against Locke : " Nihil est in intellectu quod non ante fuerit in sensu, nisi ipse intellectus." We are moreover convinced that the power of the mind which enables us to see the genus in the individual, the whole in the many, and to form a word by connecting a subject with a predicate, is the same which leads man to find God in the universe, and the universe in God. Language and religion are the two poles of our consciousness, mutually presupposing each other. The one is directed to the changing phenomena of the world, in the conviction of their unity, the other to the unchangeable, absolute One, with the subsumption of all that is changeable and relative under him. But we are not now to enter into these higher spheres of speculation ; we have here to deal with the origin and the principle of the progress of speech, and to show that the primeval facts of language, and all those phenomena which we have examined in the preceding section, are not only explained by our assumption, but proved to flow of necessity from a simple and constant law.

Now we found, that the further we go in the examination of the most ancient formations, the more we perceive that every sound had originally a meaning, and every unity of sounds (every syllable) answered to a unity of object in the outward world for the world of the mind. We found this to be the character of the Chinese language. We again found, beginning with the latest formations, that inflexions, apparently mere modifications of the sound of a word, were in most cases reducible to prepositions or postpositions, and these again and all particles to full roots, or nouns and verbs. We found that every word had first a substantial object in the outward world, and received only in process of time an application to the inward.

In order to arrive at the law which we are endeavouring to find, let us first assume, as Geology does, that the same principles which we see working in the development, were also at work at the very beginning, modified in degree and in form, but essentially the same in kind. We leave it here quite undecided, whether there was one beginning, or whether there were many beginnings of speech,—whether one only of the great families of mankind began the work from the first elements of speech, and handed it over to others who successively developed it, or whether there are many beginnings, each tribe forming its own materials of speech, and developing them more or less, according to their peculiar nature and history. If we adopt this latter supposition, we shall find ourselves obliged to assume that the starting-point of all has been essentially the same, only that the materials employed have been quite distinct from the beginning. Different families of languages will then, according to this system, represent at the utmost only different stages in lines of parallel development. According to the first supposition, on the contrary, they all, with the exception of one, must have found something of speech, and materials, more or less, already stamped and fixed, which they had to work upon, when entering into the critical process of their nascent nationality.

My second general assumption is this. The supreme law of progress in all language shows itself to be the progress from the substantial isolated word, as an undeveloped expression of a whole sentence, towards such a construction of language as makes every single word subservient to the general idea of a sentence, and shapes, modifies and dissolves it accordingly. Language is the produce of inward necessity, not of an arbitrary or con-

vventional arrangement; consequently, every sound must originally have been significative of something. The unity of sound (the syllable, pure or consonantized) must therefore originally have corresponded to a unity of conscious plastic thought; and every thought must have had a real or substantial object of perception. The mind cannot conceive existence except in things existing; and on the other hand, every distinct notion of a thing presupposes its existence. Thus every object of perception appears necessarily to the mind as a thing placed under the category of qualitative existence, existence being the necessary attribute of everything contemplated by the mind. Now the noun is the expression of a thing existing. The substantive noun is the existing thing, denominated according to that quality of the object which strikes the mind, when reacting upon the impression received from it through the senses. The noun-adjective in general is the quality of an existing thing, considered as separate from it. Or, we may say, what was suggested to us by the nature of Chinese words, the substantive and the verb represent the two opposite poles of the originally undivided notion; the adjective is the indifferent point between the two poles, presenting itself towards the nominal pole as an adjective, towards the verbal as a participle. But the original substantial word must represent the unity of these differences, by being a substantive, or verb, or adjective, according to its use, indicated by its tone and position in the sentence. No substantive-noun can originate without the working of that which is expressed by the adjective, the specific quality or property of the thing contemplated. Quality therefore is only a term for a mode of existence, that is to say, for a mode of that, of which the verb is the abstract expression. Every act of word-forming presupposes therefore the unity of these three fundamental parts of speech. That is to say, every single word implies necessarily a complete proposition, consisting of subject, predicate and copula. Such indeed we found to be the case in Chinese.

If thus the very beginning of speech is impossible without the creative power of the mind reacting upon the impression of the senses, the original expression of thought is entirely substantial. Nothing but a substance is expressed, although no substance can ever be expressed without the ideal power of the mind which stamps it. The action of the contemplating mind itself, the copula, as it is called in logic, the affirmation or negation which connects a subject and predicate, a noun and a verb, substantive and adjective, will least of all have originally an abstract expression. Indeed, the negation of a sentence (which sentence may be one word) is most naturally expressed by a gesture, added to the expression of some existence or movement. Gestures and accents are the natural commentary upon the sentence-forming word. The same is the case with the relations of nouns and verbs to space and time, or to any quality or degree. The prepositions and postpositions, the affixes and suffixes, the declensions and conjugations of our languages, are, in primeval speech, expressed like the copula, by position, by accent, declamation, pauses, gestures, finally by the accompanying image of the object. For language, in its primitive substantial state, wants for its completion and illustration the writing of the image of things, as much as later languages find a useful commentary in the orthography of words, and a necessary one in the context of speech. How, for instance, distinguish in English *mite*, *right*, *wright*, *write* and *rite*, or *u*, *you*, *yew*, *eve*, or *to*, *too*, *two*, unless an unmistakeable synonym be added, or the context explain it directly? But before as after the invention of image-writing, the musical and the gesticular element are necessary accompaniments of speech.

Absolute, unchangeable and unbending substantiality then is the character

of the primitive language, if, as we must suppose, it is not a conventional arbitrary expression of the mind, but the produce of instinctive necessity. But it is equally true, that the ideal principle, or the action of the mind, which produced language by a spontaneous repercussion of the perception received, must not be considered as ever resting or ceasing, but, on the contrary, as being continually working upon the language. If substantiality is the principle of existence in a language, ideality is as essentially its principle of development or evolution. *Language has in itself, by the very nature of the principle of its origin, a principle of development.* The mind which forms a language changes it also. It starts from sentence-forming words, and tends to break their absolute isolating nature, by making them subservient to the whole of a developed sentence, and changing them into parts of speech; and this it can only do by gradually using full ancient roots for the expression of all that is formal in language. The same principle which works upon those languages, the formation of which we can investigate, must therefore have been working upon the most ancient language of mankind. What we found as a prominent phenomenon is the necessary effect of a general law, of that law without which there would be no language. What exists in thought must gradually find its positive expression in language.

Language therefore is driven by this incessant action of the mind to express what is not substantial,—that ideal conception by which men connected from the beginning of all speech (yea before it) things with existence and things with things. But it cannot express these ideal connexions except by using the substantial materials it possesses. The substantial words become to the mind what the things themselves were at the beginning of speech,—the objects of its action.

The affirmation or negation of the connexion between a subject and predicate, and the accidental relations as to space and time, certainly claim now an explicit expression: so too do the internal necessary relations of nouns and verbs in general. All these must gradually be expressed; and this can only be done by words originally coined for things substantial. This is the origin of personal pronouns (the consciousness of self and its antithesis, which is a great abstraction), of other pronouns, of prepositions, lastly, of conjunctions, or words expressing the relation of whole sentences to each other, as prepositions do the relation of nouns with nouns or with verbs. The words thus divested of their substantial meaning, lose their substantiality, in the proper sense of the term.

This step coincides necessarily with the division between syllables and words, and precedes the origin of affixes and inflexions.

Every really primitive language (if there are more than one) must therefore have begun, as we find that the Chinese and all monosyllabic languages really did begin. Perhaps we may also find the necessary steps of development, from such a beginning to the perfection of formative languages. Whatever they are, there is above all one step which forms the paramount distinction between the languages of mankind; that in which all the component parts of a sentence are themselves signs of an undeveloped sentence, and incapable of modification according to their specific meaning in a given sentence, and that in which the form of words has been made subservient to this sense. This difference is that between languages with unorganic and with organic words. Within the first unorganic structure, and therefore in the rigidly monosyllabic state, we can again establish that there must be one considerable and necessary step, which is that from simple roots or syllables to compound ones. The simplest roots must consist either of a vowel alone (pure syllables in the strictest sense) or of a consonant, having its inherent vowel either before or after

it. Syllables, beginning and ending with a vowel, and having besides a consonant between them, are already to be suspected of contraction, unless the consonant be a servile one, as the liquids and the sibilating sounds generally are. Indeed this difference between the degree of substantiality of the consonants is a powerful element for the development of words into an organic structure. Monosyllables with two substantial consonants are the furthest extreme to which monosyllabic languages can arrive. This whole reason proceeds upon the fundamental assumption, that in languages of this nature (having only full roots, or sentence-forming words) there is a rational correspondence between the unity of perception and of sounds. Two equally strong consonants again of the same organ of speech (as two labials, two linguals, and so on), may come under the head of a simple increase and light modification of the one impression. But syllables with two mute consonants of two different organic classes presuppose a union of two, which requires originally two syllables.

Other varieties can exist within this dark and almost unexplored sphere, by different systems of position and accent; but the line of progress will always lie in the approach to the breaking up of the character of substantial fulness and isolation of the single words. The only preparation which, after a literature of four thousand years, the Chinese presents for such a change, is the use of some of its unchangeable roots as signs of grammatical relations. A nation which formed itself into existence from such a state of the language, could as easily make that great step, which leads to affixes and then to inflexions, as the mummified Chinese is incapable and unwilling to do it. It is the feeling of the absolute independence and isolating substantiality of each word in a sentence, which makes him contemplate such a change as a decided decay and barbarism. He expresses *daylight* by two words signifying exactly in the same order *day light*: but he cannot condescend to subordinate the second to the first, by saying (with one accent) *day'-light*.

The tendency to compound syllables is also in itself a tendency to such a change. The distinction between words and syllables, by the formation of polysyllabic words, is the declaration of the entrance into the second great stage, the organic one of the words. Every composition produces or prepares decomposition: it presupposes a third thing, uniting two distinct units of perception and thought. One of the things thus united will be in process of time subordinated to the other, as the determinative or accessory. A word of more than one syllable is the expression of a compound notion: it constitutes the expression of a higher unit by the subordination of one simple notion under another simple one. The former loses the accent; for without unity of accent there is no unity of the word in speech. The Chinese has no real compound words; for in apparent compositions, like *day-light*, *horse-man*, each component word, as we have already observed, preserves its own accent, and there is a pause between them.

If we fix our regard on the second great class of languages, there can be no mistake as to which is the last formation, the goal of the whole process: it is evidently that of perfect inflexions. We say advisedly, the last formation, not merely the most perfect. No language can have inflexions, which had not formative particles (affixes and suffixes) before: and these affixes themselves must once have been independent particles; finally, there can be no particle, which was not originally a substantial word, and primitively a substantial syllable.

This is the result both of our examination of the phenomena of languages, and of our speculative reasoning. The first showed us, that such was the case in the languages, the history and formation of which we know. The

second proved, that this phenomenon results from a general law; and in order to arrive at this law, we allowed ourselves no assumption, as far as we are aware, except that everything expressed in language, which is the expression of reason, must originally have been reasonable, and therefore a truth and reality. The question, can a language be supposed to begin with inflexions? appears to us to imply an absurdity. But so does the first of all questions: why every word must be originally a true and adequate expression of the mind? And the examination of the facts shows us how that law operates. First, inflexions, as we have seen, resolve themselves, whenever we have the means of observing their formation, into worn-out prepositions or postpositions: but these again we found, in the instances we examined, to have been in an earlier stage substantial words, nouns or verbs. We further found, that, when flexions are worn-out, and some event brings on a new secondary formation, worn-out flexions call forth the formation of a new affix or suffix from the class of particles.

Thus the line of progress runs in the direction of an increase in the number of words formal, that is to say, of words serving for the formative purposes of the mind. This coincides with the necessary purpose of all organic language, to constitute and mark all the component parts of a sentence. Now it is clear that no word, which has once ceased to be full or substantial, can ever become so again: it has lost its substantial, independent life, and its distinct substantial signification. It becomes an algebraic sign, and more or less unintelligible in itself. The more substantial and independent state is, therefore, necessarily the more ancient in any line of development.

Thus much we can establish by following out the logical process we have undertaken to explain. But this method alone cannot bring us further. Logically, it is impossible to define the different classes of this second great family of languages, otherwise than by establishing that the more the single words in a sentence are regarded as unchangeable, and their position in the sentence as the sign of the part they represent in it, the nearer such a language must be to the first class. But whether, for instance, the system of agglutination or incorporation of the American and the Basque languages is a proof of a backwardness in the stage of development, compared with the use of affixes, must depend upon concomitant circumstances. It certainly will be so, whenever the affix-languages are freer from the symmetric construction of a sentence, and the isolation of the single words from each other.

The great fact upon which we insist here, is this: every primitive language must be composed of words which are absolutely inorganic, because in this way alone the origin and the progress of word-forming, and the origin and development of languages can be explained rationally.

Application of the preceding inquiries to the Problem of the Classification of the Egyptian Language and of Languages in general.

We shall recapitulate briefly the results of the two preceding investigations. We have first examined some striking phenomena in the formation and the component parts of language, and we have then endeavoured to explain them by a general philosophical induction.

By the first we believe we have established the constancy of the following phenomena. The *first* is, that every language has in itself an element of progress, which in a crisis may become the element of death to the old, and of life in a new one. The constant action of the mind upon the articulate expression of substantiality prevails gradually, but necessarily, over the positiveness of this substantiality, and makes single words subservient to the expression of all that belongs to the mind; of relation, outwardly of time

and space, and inwardly of quality, action, direct and indirect, and all the other categories of existence ; finally, of the copula, or that act of the mind by which a proposition and even a word is formed.

The *second* is, that every language extant is born out of the death of another. This forms the basis upon which the new formative power works, or, as it were, the substratum or *humus* for the new formation. The birth of a new language pre-supposes the death of an old one. No language dies without a great crisis in the tribe or nation which speaks it. This crisis may be a great physical revolution, or a voluntary change of country by emigration, or a dissolution of the ancient form of political society by external human force, by invasion, conquest, subjugation. A new language and a new nation are so far identical, as a new language cannot originate without the dissolution of an ancient nationality. A new nationality certainly may rise out of an old one without the creation of a new language, although there will always be in the new nationality a cause of a slower and retarded, or of quicker and accelerated development of the old language.

The *third* phenomenon is, that every new language consists in itself of at least two different elements or formations,—the traditional old one, and the new, the produce of the crisis. We shall call the one the *primary formation*, the other the *secondary*. But this position is equivalent for all languages, except the first and second, to this formula : every language has necessarily three elements,—the secondary formation, that by which it became a new language out of a kindred older one,—the primary formation, or the living roots of that older language,—and finally, the *deposit*, or that which was the primary formation of the same older language.

Generalizing this fact, we may arrive at an algebraic formula. Calling the older language *A*, all anterior formations *x*, the new language *B*, and distinguishing in every one of these three formations the two necessary component parts as *b* and *a*; finally, designating the number of successive formation of *a* and *b*, by *n*; we arrive at the following expression :—

$$\begin{aligned} B &= b + a + x \\ x &= n \cdot (a + b). \end{aligned}$$

Therefore,

$$B = b \cdot (a + b).$$

Fourthly. We found that the principle of secondary formation may be the stronger, the less development there is in the basis ; and must be the weaker the more that basis was developed.

Fifthly. That the secondary formation is the weakest where it is stopped by a continual influx of an extraneous element.

Sixthly. The extraneous element will never intrude into the grammar, but only into the lexicographic part.

Seventhly. All secondary formations are the less organic, the more violent the transition has been from one stage to another.

Eighthly. Colonization may often preserve the ancient form of the language of the mother-country.

Ninthly. The Chinese language presents a formation entirely contrasting with all others hitherto examined ; and its peculiarity does not so much consist in its monosyllabic character, as in the circumstance that each word represents an implicit sentence, not divided in its component logical parts, and serves therefore, according to its position and accent, sometimes as a substantive or adjective, and sometimes as a verb.

As to the second, the *philosophical inquiry*, we found that those phenomena are explained as the manifestations of a general law. According to this, we established the following axioms :—

First. The original or primitive language must consist of inorganic words, each word presenting a whole undivided sentence, incapable of suffering any connexion with or modification by the preceding or following word.

Secondly. The principle by which a language is produced, the reaction of the mind upon the impressions of the outward world, is also the principle of its development: consequently every language must either remain quite fixed in its inorganic state, or arrive at a more or less perfect organic state.

Thirdly. This organic formation has as its aim and goal the languages with inflexions, the system we find harmoniously developed in Sanscrit and Greek, and the cognate languages.

Fourthly. The intermediate phenomena must be arranged in a series, as steps of the general development from the inorganic to the organic.

Fifthly. Inflexions can only be explained as worn-out affixes, or as independent particles, and these as decayed full (nominal or verbal) roots.

With these results we shall now return to the investigation of the problem which we found placed before us,—the classification of languages, in particular as to the language of Egypt,—and look back to those two different systems respecting the historical origin of languages, to which we alluded above. We are reduced to the following dilemma:—Either there has been an infinite number of such beginnings, out of which different tribes have sprung, and with them different languages, each doing originally the same work, and continuing and advancing it more or less according to its particular task, its natural powers and its historical destinies; or the beginning of speech was made only once, in the beginning of human time, in the dawn of the mental day, by one favoured race (however it was originally formed) in a genial place of the earth, the garden of Asia. Of such centres we have in the primeval facts of ethnology three; the western one, having Mount Ararat as a southern, and Mount Caucasus as the northern centre; the eastern one, or the mountainous table-land of Tibet, with its eastern and southern slope; finally, the middle one, the Hindukush, with the Iranians and Turanians around it.

Within the circumference of this district the human race first developed and spread itself, either equally from all three points, as the one assumption would lead us to suppose, or from one first, according to the other of the two possible scientific assumptions.

On one supposition or on the other, the development of language must have been connected with different crises, such as must modify social existence, and therefore speech. The rising of new nationalities must produce new languages. In consequence of such inward or outward, natural or political, and religious catastrophes, colonies went out, and swarms of men issued forth to distant countries, bearing with them the heirloom of their first fatherland in their speech, and carrying it on from that starting-point with their own individual strength, under more or less favourable circumstances. On this supposition there will be in some races a more continuous and organic development, retaining more of uninterrupted consciousness of the past; whereas others tend rapidly to a premature or conventional development; others again preserve this old state with unbending tenacity. One race will distinguish itself thus above all others by a full development from the inorganic to the organic formation. Although it becomes thus in the course of ages the most perfect organic language, the race will, by virtue of the harmonic development of all its parts towards one, and that the highest end, preserve more of the ancient heirloom than others less perfect,

because this want of perfection shows itself in a tendency to develope one part of the system out of proportion with the rest, and thus cover and hide, as it were, the ancient stock under the luxuriance of one-sided formations. The perfection of an organic language lies not only in what it expresses, but also in what it does not express, by special forms.

Thus in physiology man appears as the centre and end of all organic formations, uniting harmoniously the relatively highest perfection of all systems, whereas the others, in tending towards one of them only, go out of the way of steady and perfect development, and fail to arrive at the goal.

Colonies may either preserve the ancient form, or become the occasion of a great change. The ancient language of Tibet, which is in the Chinese traditions the land of their earliest recollections, may have been preserved by the colonists who formed the Chinese empire, while Tibet went further in its development.

Such will be, according to our inquiry, the general march of development, whether the one or the other supposition be the true one.

Now, if the first supposition be true, the different tribes or families of languages, however analogous they may be, (as being the produce of the working of the same human mind upon the same outward world by the same organic means), will nevertheless offer scarcely any affinity to each other in the skill displayed in their formation, and in the mode of it; but their very roots, full or empty ones, and all their words, whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic, must needs be entirely different. There may be some similar expressions in those inarticulate bursts of feeling, not reacted upon by the mind, which the grammarians call interjections. There are besides some graphic imitations of external sounds, called onomatopoeia, words the formation of which indicates the relatively greatest passivity of the mind. There may be besides some casual coincidences in real words; but the law of combination applied to the elements of sound gives a mathematical proof, that, with all allowances, that chance is less than one in a million for the same combination of sounds signifying the same precise object. What we shall have to say hereafter about the affixing of words to objects, will show that this chance is still considerably diminished, if the very strict and positive laws are considered which govern the application of a word to a given object. But the ordinary crude method suffices to prove, that, if there are entirely different beginnings of speech, as philosophical inquiry is allowed to assume, and as the great philosophers of antiquity have assumed, there can be none but stray coincidences between words of a different origin. Now, referring to what we have already stated as the result of the most accurate linguistic inquiries, such a coincidence does exist between three great families, spreading from the north of Europe to the tropic lands of Asia and Africa. It there exists, not only in radical words, but even in what must appear as the work of an exclusively peculiar coinage, the formative words and inflexions which pervade the whole structure of certain families of languages, and are interwoven, as it were, with every sentence pronounced in every one of their branches. All the nations which from the dawn of history to our days have been the leaders of civilization in Asia, Europe and Africa, must consequently have had one beginning. This is the chief lesson which the knowledge of the Egyptian language teaches.

But the researches of our days have very considerably enlarged the sphere of such languages of historical nations, as are united by the ties of primitive affinity. Those researches have made it more than probable that the Tatars, Mandshu and Tungusians belong to one great stock; that the Turkomans, *as well as the Tshudes Fins, Laplanders and Magyars (Hungarians) present*

another stock closely united, and that both these families are originally connected with each other. These nations, who probably may be reduced to two families, one centring in the Altai and the pasture land towards the Himalaya, and the other having its centre in the Ural mountains, have acted in the history of civilisation a most powerful episode by conquest and destruction. They appeared in the fifth century as the Huns, a scourge to Romans and Germans; they produced Djenghiscan, Tamerlan and Mohammed II.; they destroyed the Persian empire, subdued Hindustan, and they still sit upon the throne of Byzantium and upon that of China. They seem destined to partake only by conquest in the higher civilisation of the surrounding nations, older or younger ones, the Chinese presenting the one extreme, the Iranians the other. Little disposed to learn from them as neighbours or subjects, they become more or less civilized by being their masters. They cannot resist the inward force of the civilisation of their subjects, although they repel it, as an outward power.

These tribes appear also as the once subdued substratum of Iranian civilisation. So in the north of Europe, where the Finnic race preceded the Scandinavians.

But the same great family appears also in Asia as the subdued or primary element. It seems probable, that the aboriginal languages of India, which attained their full development in the Dekhan dialects, belong to this stock, not only by a general analogy of structure, but also by an original and traceable connexion.

In a similar position we find another member of that family in western Europe. It there preceded the Celts, in the Iberians or Cantabrians, whose language is preserved in the Basque (Biscayan). Those tribes were once prevalent in France and Spain, probably also in ancient Italy. Their language has the same structure and certainly some signs or vestiges of a material connexion in roots with the Altai-Ural idioms.

Our historical formula respecting this formation will therefore be this. All the nations, who in the history of Asia and Europe occupy the second rank as to the civilising power they have *hitherto* displayed, are probably as much of one Asiatic origin as the Iranian nations are. They centre on the northern borders of the Himalaya, and everywhere in central Asia are the hostile, savage neighbours of the agricultural Iranian people, whom they have disturbed and dispossessed in different ages of history, having probably themselves been primitively driven by them, as nomades by agriculturists, from a more genial common home.

We have now only to indicate, as summarily as we can, the relation of this great family, with the three great families, into which the leading nations of civilisation, as children of one stock, appeared to be divided. We found that the names of Cham, Shem and Japhet (the latter name being adopted only provisionally as equivalent with Indo-Germanic) represented to us scientifically three steps of development of one and the same stock. In applying the principles above established to that question, we ask, Is that great Altai-Ural family originally connected with those leading nations? and if so, to which of those three great divisions (Chamism, Semitism, Japhetism) do these secondary families more particularly approach? We cannot hesitate for a moment to say, that there are too many positive and material vestiges of original connexion (although in a remote degree, according to the general principles we have laid down) already visible, to allow us to doubt the existence of such a connexion. At the same time we find these languages, although very inferior to those Indo-Germanic tongues, nearer allied to them, than to Chamism and Semitism. They represent, like Cham and Shem, a lower degree of

development, if compared with the Iranian languages, but a degree of their own, starting, as it were, from the opposite pole. The tongues of High Asia form with those most perfect languages a decided opposition to the Chamic and Semitic branches. They are more advanced than these, and therefore later, but, so to say, advanced in a wrong or less imperfect way. We therefore propose to call this whole family the *Turanian*, and the Indo-Germanic or Indo-European, the Iranian, following the antithesis of Iran and Turan, established by Heeren and Carl Ritter. And indeed the more we go back to the most ancient historical traditions of the Japhetic family, particularly in India and Persia, the more we see how the two branches, the Iranian and the Turanian, though always in opposition to each other, are to be considered as but diverging lines from one common centre*.

It is not proved, but it appears to us, on the strength of our general principles, highly probable, that the native languages of the northern continent of *America*, comprising tribes and nations of very different degrees of civilisation, from the Esquimaux of the polar regions to the Aztecs of Mexico, are a scion of the Turanian tribe. The similarity in the conformation of the skull, always made such an affinity highly probable: the wonderful analogy in the grammatical structure of those languages, between themselves and with the Turanian tongues of Asia, is denied by nobody; and we believe that the curious and, at the first appearance, startling problem, of the apparent entire diversity of the lexicographic part of those American languages, by the side of that grammatical affinity, will receive a satisfactory solution by a more profound knowledge of the roots, and by the application of our principle of secondary formation, overgrowing sometimes luxuriantly the ancient stock of roots.

We likewise believe that Wilhelm von Humboldt has established the connexion between the Polynesian languages and the Malay, or the language of Malacca, Java and Sumatra, and that this Malay language itself bears the character of the not-Iranian branch of the Japhetic family.

Whether the Papua languages, spoken in Australia and New Guinea, and by the aborigines of Borneo, of the peninsula of Malacca and of some small Polynesian islands, be a primitive type of the same stock as the Malay which afterwards, in many parts, superseded it—this point must remain uncertain till we receive from the hands of the missionaries a Papua grammar. Thus much we know, that it is an anterior and very primitive formation, and most likely will prove to be a degenerated one, to the analysis of which, as such, we shall have to apply the method above discussed.

We see thus, that Asia (with the exception of China and Tibet), the whole of Europe and probably of America and the Polynesian lands (at least in their secondary stock), belong to one great original family, divided into the Ira-

* See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 728. My young friend Doctor Max Müller, the editor of the *Rigveda*, gives me the following data for this assertion:—"In the hymns of the 'Rigveda' we find still the clearest traces, that the five principal tribes, the Yadus, Turvassas, Druhyus, Anus and Purus, were closely connected by the tie of nationality, and had their gods in common. In the succeeding age, that of the epic poetry of the *Mahabharata*, these five nations are represented as the sons of Yayāti, one of the old fathers of mankind. Yayāti curses four of his sons, and the curse of Turvasa is, to live without laws and attached to beastly vices in the land of barbarians in the North. In this name of *Tur-vasa*, as well as afterwards in the name given to the Indo-Scythian kings in the history of Kashmir, *Tūrushka*, we find the same root as in the Zend *Tūra*, the name of the nations in the North. But *tūra* itself means quick, from *√tvar*, to run, to fly, and thus the very name of these tribes gives the same characteristic of these nomadic equestrian tribes, which afterwards is ascribed to them by Firdusi, and which makes them always appear in India, as well as on the Sasanian inscriptions of Persia, as the *An-irān*, or not-Arian people, that is, as the enemies of the agricultural and civilising nations."

nian and Turanian branches. We beg to call this definitively the Japhetic race. In many parts we know that the Turanian race has preceded the Iranian : its language certainly represents an anterior step or preceding degree of development. In some parts we found that the Turanian race succeeded to a still older native element.

We now return to the precursor of Iranism in western Asia and in Egypt. Semitism appeared to us as a one-sided progress of Chamism. Canaan (the ante-judaic inhabitants of Palestine and Phœnicia) is not literally a child of Cham, that is to say, a scion of the Egyptian stock : perhaps geographically, but not genealogically. But Canaan is called in Genesis the son of Cham, because the Canaanites, in the Abrahamic period, as again in the Mosaic time, left lower Egypt and occupied Palestine and Tyre. Canaan came out of Cham ; certainly the Semitic idiom is in itself a child of Cham, by being a development of that primitive (Asiatic) Chamism, which became fixed in the Egyptian. For the Egyptian language is as certainly the primitive formation of the Euphrates and Tigris territory, fixed in Africa and preserved by the Egyptians, as the Icelandic is the old Norse fixed in that island. All this follows out of the facts furnished by Egyptology, if the principles above established are applied to them.

The Semitic formation itself occupied Abyssinia ; and the Berber language belongs evidently to the same stock. But what can we say of the rest of Africa ?

Here late researches have opened a new and great field of the most interesting character. We allude in particular to the labours of Tutschek, and the analytical inquiries of Von Gablenz and Ewald ; but above all to the gigantic and truly admirable labours of that indefatigable German Messenger of the Church-Missionary Society of England, the Rev. John Lewis Krapf, whose compared manuscript grammar and dictionary of the Sawahili language and the cognate dialects of the Wanicka and Wakamba tribes, with introductions and numerous translations, have been entrusted to me by the enlightened secretary of that Society, the Rev. Henry Venn. These, and similar works about the south-eastern languages of Africa, have entirely destroyed those unfounded notions of an infinite number of rude and poor tongues. We now know, that dialects of the Galla language, which in the North joins the Abyssinian, a very fine specimen of grammatical structure and euphonic formation, are spoken, at least as far as the fifth degree south of the equator ; that it penetrates deeply into the continent along the eastern coast of Africa ; that it is joined by the noble Caffre idioms, which also enter far into the interior ; and that the Congo idioms on the western coast, if not cognate, are at least very analogous in structure, as the Galla and Caffre languages are decidedly among themselves*.

They besides all bear on them vestiges of primitive affinity, according to our principles, with the great tripartite stock. But if we are asked, do these languages belong to Chamism, or do they stand on the degree represented by Semitism ? we are obliged to answer, neither the one nor the other. On the contrary, applying to them the principles we have endeavoured to establish as the general principles of development, we must confess that they stand on Japhetic ground. The primitive state of Chamism, exhibiting the germ both of Semitism and of Japhetism, is evidently left behind in those advanced

* At the moment that we are carrying these sheets through the press (April 26, 1848) we receive the first and second number of the 'Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft,' and find in it Prof. Pott's learned article on the languages of the Caffre and Congo tribes. We beg particularly to refer our readers to the ingenious and acute observations of Prof. Schott, brought forward in this article.

formations. There is a further development, but that development does not run in the Semitic line. In the Semitic formations, the copula is constantly expressed by the pronominal form (*he*), whereas the Iranian, as well as the Turanian, therefore all Japhetic languages, have already the more abstract and therefore more advanced verbal form (*to be*). In this decisive characteristic those African tongues side with the Japhetic. And so they do in the whole system of conjugation in opposition to the Semitic conjugation, as explained above. As the American and, in a certain manner, all Turanian languages are distinguished by their system of incorporation, and in particular of agglutination of words, together with that of postposition; thus these African idioms bear the type of prefixes and indicate the congruence of the parts of speech by changes in the initials of the words. Lepsius' preliminary observations respecting the two languages of the Upper Nile, discovered and analysed by him, lead to the supposition, that they too represent a decidedly greater advancement than the Egyptian.

The ulterior question then will be, have those languages (in form and in matter) passed through the Chamistic formation? And if so, is their primary formation reducible directly to Asiatic Chamism, or have they passed through the Egyptian?

We feel unable to answer these questions. The combined progress of the study of the language of Egypt and of those of central and southern Africa, will, perhaps in a few years, enable us to see clearly on this point.

Nor do we undertake to answer the question whether that wreck of the primitive language, that great monument of inorganic structure, the *Chinese*, can be linked by any scientific method to the other families of human speech, and thus, directly or indirectly, connected with the great tripartite civilizing family of mankind. But we add, there is no scientific proof that it cannot. Chinese philology, from a general point of view, is in its infancy. Morrison's merit consists in having given us a tonic dictionary, that is to say, a dictionary which does indeed deserve that name, an alphabetic collection of sounds, not a system of signs. But the execution of this laudable plan is very defective. The object of real philology must be to classify, with the necessary regard for the accent, the numberless significations of a full root or syllable, in such a manner, that the primitive significations may be discovered; for, as is the case still in the Egyptian, one sound comprises generally many roots now apparently identical, but originally different. The ancient style ought to be consulted for this purpose, if not exclusively, at least most particularly. Treating in this manner for instance, the roots *nḡh* (the pronoun *J*), and the roots for *father* and *mother* (*foo* and *moo*), the original substantial meaning of the two last words will be easily ascertained, and the signification of recite, speak, speaking for *nḡd*, lead to the natural origin of the pronominal signification. Nor is it less important to discover the original pronunciation and the phonetic rules of that language. Endlicher has been the first, in his Chinese grammar, to consult the language on this point. Finally, we cannot help thinking, that a system of transcriptions in Latin characters ought to be introduced in the tonic dictionary as well as in the grammar, and the ancient texts published in the same manner. The philological as well as the historical treasury of Chinese literature would thus become accessible to the philosophical and comparative study of that most interesting language. It is only by being taken up by general scholars in this way, that we may hope to gain a basis for the comparison of roots; although we are far from denying that the historical study of the signs by the professional Chinese scholar will also contribute much to the real understanding of that peculiar formation. The study of the Tibetan or Bhotiya language, and

that of the Burmese, would probably offer the nearest link between the Chinese and the more recent formations; but even the comparison with Sanscrit roots will not be without results.

It would be presumptuous to anticipate the issue of such well-prepared and sifted comparisons; but we have no hesitation in saying, that we incline to believe it will be in favour of the existence of a primitive connexion. There is a gap between that formation and all others; and that gap corresponds probably to that caused in the general development of the human race by great destructive floods, which separate the history of our race from its primordial origines. In this sense the Chinese may be called the monument of antediluvian speech. Indeed the first emigration from the cradle of mankind is said in Genesis to have gone eastward.

But whatever be the result, there is only one method of arriving at it, and that is a combination of accurate philological observation and analysis with philosophical principles, and with the collateral researches of history and of physiology. It is only by such a combination of researches that we can hope to fix definitively the place of the Chinese language in the general history of human speech, and to pronounce with historical certainty on the great questions connected with that problem. The difficulties are immense; but greater ones have been overcome in the last thirty years, and we believe that our method of distinguishing between primary and secondary formation, and of determining the succession of the phenomena of development, and thus of languages, will not be found entirely useless in the pursuit of those ulterior researches. At all events, we flatter ourselves that we have made good our assertion, that the Egyptologic discoveries are most intimately connected with the great question of the primeval language and civilisation of mankind, both in Asia and Africa, and that they give a considerable support to the opinion of the high, but not indefinite antiquity of human history, and to the hypothesis of the original unity of mankind and of a common origin of all languages of the globe.

London, 27 April, 1848.

J. BUNSEN.



On the Importance of the Study of the Celtic Language as exhibited by the Modern Celtic Dialects still extant. By Dr. CHARLES MEYER.

THE subject on which I have ventured to address this meeting, is one which appears to me particularly well-adapted for the purposes of the *British Association*, as it deserves attention in a national as well as a general point of view, being connected not less with the special history of this country, both political and intellectual, than with the universal history of human civilization and intellect. I shall endeavour to point out the high importance, both historical and philological, of the study of the Celtic language, as exhibited by the modern Celtic dialects still extant, and shall lay before my hearers some of the new facts and views pertaining partly to general history, partly to the history of human language in particular, which, I believe, I have, in the course of my study of the Celtic language and literature, succeeded in discovering.

Modern Europe possesses two great dialects or languages, each composed of three separate idioms, which exhibit what we may call the *modern Celtic*. The word *Celtic* I use as a generic name for all the different idioms and dialects, evidently united amongst themselves by a systematic family-likeness of grammatical features, once spoken by the different nations and tribes, which in the Greek and Latin records of ancient history are usually designated under the general name of *Kéλραι* (*Keλrol*) and *Celtae* *, and still spoken by their descendants. The two great dialects of modern Celtic may be seen, each with its three subdivisions, only one of which is actually extinct, on the following table :—

1. The Gallic or British, comprehending—
 - a. The Cymric or Welsh.
 - b. The Cornish (extinct).
 - c. The Armorican or dialect of Brittany (Bas Breton).
2. The Gaelic (Gadhelic) or Erse, comprehending—
 - a. The Fenic or Irish.
 - b. The Highland Scottish (Gaelic).
 - c. The Manx †.

It appears from this table, that five of the modern Celtic dialects, and four of those still extant, belong to this country, while the sixth, the Armorican or the dialect of Brittany, belongs to a district which, although situated in a foreign country, yet is British by its population, since it was in the fourth and fifth century of our era entirely colonized by British settlers, and named by them after their motherland, the latter becoming henceforth

* Uckert's Geography, vol. ii. p. 186.

† This table is on the whole the same as that given by Dr. Prichard in his '*Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nation*.' I have only added the names *Gallic* and *Fenic*, both of which are of too frequent occurrence, and of too significative import in the ancient national records (particularly the Irish), not to find a place in a pedigree of the Celtic. As for the etymology of the two principal words of this pedigree, I derive the word *Gadhel*, *Gael* (Irish: *Gaodhal*, *Gaoidhal*, *Gaedhil*) from an old Celtic root *gwydh sequi, comitari*,—preserved (with the regular change of *gw* into *f*) in the Irish words *fuidh-im sequor, comitor; feadhan comitatus, clientela; feadha patronus; feidhil cliens*—so as to give to the word *Gadhel*, *Gael* the signification *follower*, with reference either to the nomadic propensities and practices of the whole tribe, or to their habit of living in clanships. The name *Gall* (*Gallus*, *Gaul*), although it is used by the Irish writers in direct opposition to that of *Gael*, so much as to have acquired the general signification of *foreigner*, yet I am inclined to consider as another more mutilated form of the same word, a contraction namely of *Gwadhal* or *Gwothal*. (cf. the name of *S. Vodoalus*.)

distinguished from its colony by the name of *Great Britain**. Thus this country, which was once, as Cæsar tells us, the acknowledged classical seat of Druidical discipline, and, as we may hence infer, of Druidical or old Celtic language and literature, is also the principal seat of the modern Celtic, which exclusively originated there.

Some of those who honour me with their attention, may perhaps be astonished to observe that in proposing the use of the expression *Ancient and Modern Celtic*, and in explaining its meaning, I have been tacitly assuming a fact which, of all facts left to the investigation of comparative Celtic philology, evidently ought to be proved first, namely the real general identity of the two languages, or, more accurately, the two ages of language which we have called the Ancient and Modern Celtic. But every one, however slightly acquainted with modern Celtological literature, must know that this identity has already been made the subject of so many extensive investigations, and received so many clear demonstrations, as not now to require any additional proof. The fact that all the words, significative names and phrases, occasionally quoted by the Greek and Latin authors from the language of the several Celtic tribes, occur, with nearly the same specified form and meaning, and moreover, with their full etymological explanations, in the dialects which we are for this very reason justified in calling the modern Celtic, this important fact, which involves the grammatical identity of the two languages in question, has for several centuries engaged the attention of the learned. Having first been rendered evident by Du Freane, and afterwards more strongly insisted on by the school of the so-called *Celtomaniacs*, in whose voluminous researches it is indeed the only fact which they have contributed to elucidate, it has since been laid before the public in a more compendious and judicious form in several modern books, among which I need only mention Dr. Prichard's 'Ethnography of the Celtic Race,' and Diefenbach's 'Celtica.'

When we consider the full import of this identity with reference to our knowledge of ancient geography and ethnography, we see at once that it is of itself sufficient to render the study of the modern Celtic of the highest importance to the historian. The Celtic nation, whose language still lives in the mouth of the modern Celtic tribes just enumerated, was, owing to its migratory instincts and habits, one of the most widely-spread of all the nations of ancient and modern history, having at various periods covered with its settlements, and perhaps even simultaneously possessed, a space of country

* This colonization of Brittany, which in the historic records of the Cymary (Trioedd, Vaughan, 7) is attributed to *Cynan Meiriadawc*, contemporary of Macsen Wledic (Emperor Maximus), has conferred upon this hero, in very early legends preserved both in the Welsh and Gaelic literature, the renown of a descent into hell and victory over the infernal spirits, a fiction which doubtless originated in the supposed identity between the realms of death and lands beyond the sea. V. Gododin, v. 196 (Myvyrian, i. p. 4.).

Ni dyvu o Vrython
Wr well no Chynon
Sarph Seri Alon.

(There did not come from the land of Britons a man better than Cynon, the sun-like conqueror of the infernal spirits.) Cf. God. v. 367, 545, 583, 586; Mackintosh's Gaelic Proverbs (1819), pp. 24, 203; W. Scott's Waverley, cap. 19; Macpherson's Ossian, vol. i. pp. 148, 154. The character, at once bold and good-humoured, under which the Gaelic tradition represents Cynan or Conan, enables us to recognise in him the type of several other legendary heroes of a similar stamp, whose history is a copious and amusing theme for the nursery-tales of nearly every country of Europe; e. g. Der Schmied von Apolda; Bruder Lustig; Frère Moustache; V. Grimm's Deutsche Märchen, Notes, No. 81; Emile Souvestre, Derniers Bretons, p. 176.

extending from the pillars of Hercules to Asia Minor and beyond the Caspian, and from the banks of the Tiber to the *Ultima Thule* of Scotland and Greenland. And this considerable portion of the world, as well as the historical records referring to it, the Celtic nation has left marked with a long series of names both of places and persons, which only become intelligible, in their full import, by a comparison with the modern Celtic.

I beg leave here to submit to this meeting in a few words my opinion on the different lines of migration by which I conceive the Celtic race have proceeded from Asia to Europe, and finally to this country, and on the intimate connection which seems to exist between the difference of those lines and the great division of the whole race into two separate branches, corresponding with the two great dialects of modern Celtic, namely, the Gallic and the Gaelic branch. Although it does not lie within the plan of my discourse to give that opinion, which is the result of a long and conscientious comparative examination of the Celtic national records extant, supported by all the arguments necessary to prove it, yet I have thought proper to introduce it here in a summary way as a sort of basis for the philological views I am more particularly about to develop. This sketch of the history of Celtic migration will at the same time afford an opportunity, by the introduction of the etymology of several of the names which we shall have occasion to mention, of demonstrating the importance which we attribute to the study of the Celtic language with reference to ancient and modern ethnography.

It seems to me, then, that the Celtic nation transported itself from Asia, and more particularly from Asiatic Scythia, to Europe and to this country by two principal routes, which it resumed at different epochs, and thus formed two great streams of migration flowing as it were periodically. The one, in a south-western direction, proceeding through Syria and Egypt and thence along the northern coast of Africa, reached Europe at the Pillars of Hercules, and passing on through Spain to Gaul here divided itself into three branches, the northern of which terminated in Great Britain and Ireland, the southern in Italy, and the eastern, running along the Alps and the Danube, terminated only near the Black Sea, not far from the point where the whole stream is likely to have originated. The other great stream, proceeding in a more direct line, reached Europe at its eastern limit, and passing through European Scythia, and from thence partly through Scandinavia, partly along the Baltic, through Prussia (the Polena of the Sagas and Pwyl of the Triads), and through Northern Germany, reached this country and hence the more western and northern islands across the German Ocean or *hazy sea* (*Mor tawch*).

Of these two streams or lines of Celtic migration, which, with reference to this country, we may distinguish by the names of the *western* and *eastern* stream, the former, although the less direct, seems to be the more ancient in history, and to have reached this country several centuries before the other. The principal nations belonging to it are the *Kēlraū* of Spain (to whom this name particularly refers) and the *Galli*, the latter being the parent stock of the three tribes which successively possessed this island and successively bestowed upon it the three names by which it is mentioned in the records of classical and national literature. Each of these names corresponds with that of the tribe itself, both being taken from the chief god worshipped by each tribe, on whom they always bestowed a twofold character, one general, as god of the sun, and one special, as their own warlike leader and protector—their *heros eponymus*. These three tribes are the following:—

1st. The *Alwani* (Alauni Alani), who took their name from their god *Alw*,

and after him called this island *Alw-ion* (*Αλονίων*, Albion), i. e. the island of *Alw**.

2nd. The *Aedui*, who took their name from their god *Aed* (the Aedd Mawr of the triads), and after him called this island *Aeddon* or *Eiddyn* (Edin), a name preserved in that of the town of Edinburgh (Welsh *Caer* or *Dinas Eiddyn*, Gaelic *Din Eidin*†). The name under which the Aedui of Great Britain and Ireland are most frequently quoted, and which, contrasted with the other, may be called their secular name, is that of the Brigantes (identical with the Welsh family name Brychan, and the Irish Breoghan), and to be derived from the Welsh word *brych*, Gaelic *breag*, *fuscus*.

3rd. The *Britons* (Brython), who took their name from their god *Bryt* or *Pryd* (the Prydyn ap Aedd Mawr of the Triads), and after him called this island *Brytain*, *Prydain* (*Ynys Prydain*), Great Britain‡.

The respective order in which these three names were bestowed upon the island is also evident from the situation of those parts to which they became gradually applied after having lost their general signification, each tribe, which retreated on the arrival of fresh conquerors to a more northern part, attaching to the district which it occupied what had been once the name of the whole country. Thus the name *Albion*, the most ancient of the three,

* V. Baxter, s. v. *Alauni*, Alo-Brites. The memory of the god *Alw* is preserved by the Triads under the name of *Alawn*, and by Nennius (2, 12, Gale) under that of *Alaunus*, grandfather of Brutus (i. e. *Pryd*). In the Triads of the three pillars of the British nation,—*Triphost* (?) *Tuisighin* Cenedl *Ynys Prydain*—the name of the Cymric god *Hu Gadarn* has been fraudulently substituted for that of *Alw*. The signification of the name *Alw* is still warranted by the Welsh word *Alaw* (light, music), and the Gaelic *Alain* (bright, beautiful).

† V. *Triocedd*, Vaughan, 36. *Triocedd*, Rich. 79. cf. 50. *Gododin*, v. 155 (Eg. *cynedd Eiddyn*). *Ricardus Corinensis*, cp. 16. *Britannia* after the Romans, p. 74.

‡ Nennius, x. Britones venerunt in *tertia aetate* Mundi ad Britanniam. The word *ain*, in the compound *Pryd-ain*, which is synonymous with the words *ion* (in *Alw-ion*) and *yn* (in *Eidd-yn*), signifies circle, enclosure, island. The simple name of the god *Pryd* is preserved in one of the most ancient monuments of Welsh literature, a sacrificial hymn addressed to the god *Pryd* in his character as god of the sun. The text of this poem, as it is printed in the *Myvyrian, or Welsh Archaeology* (vol. i. pp. 72, 73), being very corrupt, I shall subjoin here a literal prose translation of it in English, and a close metrical one in German.

“Pryd, god of Great Britain, splendid Hu, listen to me! King of heaven, do not during my office hide thyself from me! A fair repast is spread before thee by the castle between the two lakes (a religious expression for Great Britain): the lakes surround the wall, the wall surrounds the city, the city invokes thee, king almighty: a pure offering stands before a chosen victim in its sacrificial veil (instead of *mwyedig vain*, *lege vain wwyad*): O great serpent (a common epithet of the sun, referring to its circuitous course), encircle from above the place where the sacred vases stand.”

“Pryd Prydain,
Herr im Schein,
Höre mich:
Himmelsfürst,
Nicht im Dienst
Umdüstre mich:
Fest dir beut
Die *Seeburg* heut,
See um *Wall*
Wall um *Burg*
Burg dich ruft,
 Herr, mit Schall!
Schönes Opfer
Hier im Schleier
 Dir ich bring,
Goldner Drache,
Hold umfache
 Den Opferring!”

finally retired, together with the tribe from which it originated, to the most northern part of the country, which, under the form Albain or Alban, it still serves to designate: and the name *Prydain* itself, which since has resumed its general signification, in the poems of the old Welsh bards generally designates the western parts of the Scotch lowlands, whither the Britons had retired after the arrival of the Belgians*.

As the nations and tribes of this western migration are those to which the name of Celts and Gauls more particularly refers, so to them belong most of those characteristic and institutions of the Celtic race—including the important one of Druidism—with which we are made acquainted by Caesar and Strabo. The language of the western Celts is in its most distinctive features represented by the British or Gallic branch of the modern Celtic.

Of the nations and tribes of the *eastern migration*, the most celebrated are the so-called Picti and Scotti, who, from the close of the third century of our era, have for a long period held a leading place in the history of this island. The names *Scoti* and *Picti* both correspond with analogous words of modern Gaelic, the one with the Irish *scuite nomades* (coll. W. *ysgwyd*, E. *to scout*), the other with the Gaelic *pic-t-a*, *peic-t-a* (Welsh, *peith*), *fighting man*, from the Gaelic *pic* (*beic, beuc*), Welsh, *peith*, *to scream, to fight* (cf. Anc.-G. *viht-an*; Lat. *pugn-a*). Much more characteristical however than the two names just mentioned are those by which the Picti and Scotti are usually distinguished in the Welsh records, I mean the names *black and fair* (*red, white*) *Gæls*, *black and fair horde*—*Gwyddyl duon*, *llu du*, *ormes du* and *Gwyddyl gwyn*, *coch*, *glas*†—inasmuch as, according to the analogy of several Asiatic tribes‡, this appellation seems to refer to a difference of blood, and to imply that the *black* Picti exhibited in their physical appearance a less pure Caucasian origin than the *fair* Scotti. The name *Fena* itself, under which the Scotti in their own records—the old Irish annals and poems—are almost invariably mentioned, signifies *the fair ones*, being the plural of *Fion* *fair*, which word is in this form the name of the heros eponymus of the whole tribe, the celebrated Fion Mac Cumhail (the Fion Gall of the Highlands). The ignorance of the monkish chroniclers of Ireland, who did not understand the meaning of the word *Fena*, was without doubt the cause of the generally received wild opinion of the *Phœnician* origin of the Irish,—just as the story of the celebrated hero *Milesius*, as a distinct person, arose from ignorance on the part of those chroniclers of the true meaning of an epithet by which Fion (the heros eponymus of the Fena) is frequently described by the old Irish bards, namely, the epithet ‘*Miledh warrior*.’ As far however as regards the Irish tradition of the Fena having arrived from Spain and Africa, to deny it all foundation in history would be inconsistent with what we ourselves have said of the route of the western Celts. I do not hesitate to detect in this tradition a reference either to that migration or to one anterior, which seems to

* V. Ymarwer Ludd Mawr, Myv. i. p. 31, b. Gwawdd Ludd y Mawr, ib. i. 75, b. (Tra mor Tra Brython). Kerdd am Veib Llyr, ib. i. 67, b. Britannia after the Romans, p. 10.

† V. Myvyd, i. 67, a; 134, b; 192, a; Triads, R. 8, 9; cf. Dr. Smith, Sean Dana, p. 6. The earliest authors who mention the *Gwyddyl duon* under this name are Ammianus Marcellinus (xvii. 8) and Ptolemeus (ii. 3); cf. Zosim. p. 440, since the form *Du-Caledones* (*Di-Caledones*) by which they mention them, evidently contains the Celtic word *du* or *dubh*, *black*, as the first term of this compound.

‡ The whole nation of the Tartars, for instance, divided themselves formerly into two great families, of which the one, called the *black*, comprehended the Tartars of Mongolic race; the other, called the *white*, those of Caucasian. V. Ritter's Erdkunde, ii. pp. 255, 435, 437, 439. The division of the Huns likewise into a black and white horde refers to the same difference. Vide Guignes, ii. p. 235. Humboldt's Kosmos, ii. p. 220.

have led, likewise by the African coast, to Spain as well as to this country, a nation of Scytho-Celtic (*Fynno-Celtic*) race, including the ancient Iberi and the still extant Basque nation*.

The time when the stream of this eastern migration first reached this island seems to have been the sixth century A.C., at which epoch, as we learn from Herodotus (iv. 13), a general commotion took place amongst the different tribes and nations of Asiatic Scythia, similar to that which 400 years later became the primary cause of the great migration of the Teutonic tribes in the fourth and fifth century. This great commotion, described by Herodotus, precipitating the eastern on the western tribes, and extending itself through the Cimmerii, who then inhabited the shores of the Caspian, to European Scythia, finally brought the eastern Celts, in the central parts of Europe, into contact with the western, one of the results of which event was the incursion of the Galli into Italy.

The Cimmerii just mentioned have been identified by several historians with the modern Cymry both as regards their name and origin, of which opinion I readily admit the correctness, inasmuch as this tribe, although now the principal representative of the Brito-Celtic language and civilization, which they after their arrival in Great Britain adopted, yet appears to me, by their name as well as by a portion of their own records, to have originally belonged to the eastern migration. Nor do I, with reference to this admitted identity of the Cimmerii and Cymry, fear to be taxed with excessive boldness when I propose my opinion on the similar identity of an old Asiatic and of an Irish tribe, both of which deserve in the highest degree the attention of the historian,—I speak of the interesting Siberian tribe *U-sin*, one of the principal tribes of the *White Tartars*, blue-eyed and fair-hair'd, as they are described by the Chinese chroniclers (who mention them together with the Yueti, i. e. Goths)†; and the same, as I believe, with the Irish (or Fenish) *Ua-sin*, i. e. *light, fair tribe*, celebrated in Irish legends for its cultivation of the arts alike of war and peace, and for the number of bards as well as heroes it has produced. How can I better impress upon my hearers an idea of the warlike greatness of this tribe than by reminding them of the beautiful poem of *Oighidh Llaine Uisnech* (the Death of the Sons of Uasin), which contains, in a mythological and symbolical form, the story of the final destruction of this tribe in the northern part of Ireland in consequence of a long series of combats against the Picti or Cruithne? And what stronger argument can I adduce to prove the poetic glory of the Ua-sin than to inform my hearers that the two greatest poetical names, both of Gaelic and Gallic literature, the names of Oisin ‡ (Ossian) and Taluesin § (Taliesin),

* One may discover an allusion to this Ante-Celtic population of Ireland in the mythological genealogy of Fion, who is called the grandson of Basc (Fion Mac-Cumhail na *Baiscne*); although I do not know whether I shall weaken or strengthen this reference by mentioning that the word *Basc* itself is an old Irish synonym of the word *Fion*, signifying *red, fair*.

† V. Ritter's Erdkunde, l. l. Humboldt's Kosmos, l. l. Uckert's Geographie, iii. 2. p. 275.

‡ The compound *Ua-sin* has been changed into 'Oisin' by the regular process, peculiar to the Celtic, of a retrogressive assimilation of the vowels, the *u* accommodating itself to the following *a* by becoming *o*, and the *a* to the following *i*, by becoming *i*, itself: a similar process of change has taken place as regards the word *Tal-ue-sin*, in which the *a* of *ue* has accommodated itself to the following *i* by becoming *e*.

§ The *Tal*, which in the name *Tal-ue-sin* precedes the *ua*, is but a repetition or explanation of this word, representing the word *Tal, tribe, family*, once common to both the great Celtic dialects, of which the Gallic has still retained it, whereas the modern Welsh, retaining it only in the two derived words *Talaeth* and *Talaies*, has for its simple form and meaning substituted the word *Teulu*, which is still derived from the same root. The contact between the Cymry and Fena, to which the school of poetry personified in Taluesin owed its origin,

are mere mythological concentrations and personifications of the poetical activity and influence of this tribe, the one, Ossian, as a representative of the bards who themselves belonged to it, and the other, Taluesin, as that of the bards of a neighbouring nation who received from the Ua-sin the impulse of their art and inspiration?

Of the other tribes belonging to the eastern migration, I still must mention the Belgians, whose family connexion with the eastern Celts has not long since been placed beyond doubt by the interesting discovery that the *Glossa Malperga*, a body of laws collected in a land formerly inhabited by the Belgians, are written in a language exhibiting a close affinity to the Irish, which must be considered the best representative extant of the language spoken by the eastern Celts*.

In tracing this rapid sketch of the earliest Celtic migrations and settlements, and in endeavouring to unravel some of its most interesting and at the same time most intricate portions by an etymological explanation of names of places and persons through means of the modern Celtic, I may perhaps hope I have succeeded in impressing on the minds of my hearers a conviction of the validity of my *first argument* in favour of the study of this language, inasmuch, namely, as it serves to elucidate ancient and modern ethnology. And I would also hope, that in reminding my hearers, while tracing this sketch, of the multitude of nations with whom the different Celtic tribes were brought in contact during that primitive part of their history, I shall have prepared them for entering the more readily with me on the *second argument* in favour of that study, which I am now about to develope. The knowledge of the modern Celtic is indispensable, to discern and appreciate in many of the European languages, both ancient and modern, that portion of heterogeneous elements which they have received from their more or less intimate and lasting contact with the ancient Celtic.

It is not only in the different Teutonic languages that such introduction of Celtic elements is observable; we find them for instance in the Latin also, into which they came through the contact of the Romans with the Umbrians and the Galli, and we find them to a considerable extent in the Spanish and French, both of which partly acquired them through the Latin, partly retained them from the conquerors of the Iberians and Aquitanians. But it is true that in the Teutonic languages the extent and influence of these Celtic elements is much more considerable than in any of the three just mentioned, which we may easily account for, by the fact that the Teutonic tribes found a Celtic population already established in nearly all the countries which they conquered, and in consequence of their intermixture with it could not but adopt a great number of terms, and even general modes of speaking, connected with a civilization, which, particularly through the influence of the Druidical discipline, was then superior to their own.

In undertaking, however, to discriminate those Celtic introductions from the great genuine mass of any other language, we must take care not to claim as Celtic that portion of words and grammatical observances which both languages possess in common, either in consequence of their being both branches of the great Japhetic stock, or of the primitive unity of human

does not, as far as I see, refer to the Fena of Ireland, but to a Fenish tribe which on their way thither appears to have settled for some time on the western coast of this island opposite the Isle of Man; it is there, at least, as it seems to me, that we must look for the *Ua-Ffn* mentioned by the Cyneirdd (e. g. Myv. i. p. 40, Yu Mor-dai *Ua-Ffn*), as well as for the land *Argoed*, of which the *Fyn*, celebrated amongst the twelve mythological heroes of the Gododin (v. 803, Myv. p. 12), is said to have been the king.

* V. Heinrich Leo, *Malpergische Glosse*. Halle, 1842.

speech in general. One of two characteristics is always required to enable us to pronounce an element apparently Celtic, which we detect in another language, to be really so; either an internal one, which consists in the incongruity or imperfect connexion of that element with the mass of the language; or an external one, consisting in the traceable history of its introduction.

With reference to the first of these two characteristics, the most unquestioned mark by which a great number of Celtic words in English and German betray their origin, is their exhibiting, by the mode in which the *strength* (or *quantity*) and *form* of the one or several consonants (mutes) which they contain are combined, the scale of articulation which belongs to the Celtic and not to the Teutonic. My hearers will understand that I am alluding to the interesting fact, discovered by James Grimm, that the Teutonic languages by a certain regular deviation from the phonetico-etymological system of the Sanscritic languages—a deviation best known in this country under the appellation of *Grimm's law*—have adopted a scale of articulation of their own, which in one portion of the Teutonic dialects, the High German, has undergone a second regular alteration. As we shall have still to refer on several occasions to this fact, I think it necessary to correct previously one great error, not less in matter than in name, by which the demonstration of the law referring to it has hitherto been obscured*. This error consists in the undefined and confused signification given to the terms *tenuis*, *media*, *aspirata*, which, instead of denoting, as they do, not only according to the nature of the matter, but also to the definition given to them by the Greek and Latin grammarians, the three different degrees of *strength* (*διάραπτος*) or *quantity of air* with which *every* letter may be uttered, are used by the modern grammarians, the first and second (*tenuis* and *media*) as denoting the difference of the *surd and vocal form* of the consonant, and the third (*aspirata*) its alliance with a guttural sound, merely because in the Greek and Latin, according to the scale of articulation adopted by these two languages, the *tenuis*, i. e. the feeble or short consonant, is, when a mute, generally *surd*, the *media*, i. e. the consonant of middle strength or quantity of air, generally *vocal*; and the *aspirata*, i. e. the long or strong consonant, generally affected by a *guttural articulation*†. But every discerning ear will at once perceive that the English *th* in *thou*, and German *d* in *du*, are as well *tenues*, i. e. feeble, as the French *t* in *tu*; and in like manner, that in the word *deer*, German *thier*, Greek θηρ, the three mutes, *d*, *th*, *θ*, are equally *aspirate*, i. e. strong, as well as in the word *two*, French *deux*, German *zwei*, the three mutes, *t*, *d*, *z*, equally *mediae*.

If, now, we apply Grimm's law, thus corrected, to the Celtic languages, we find that they have preserved on the whole the scale of articulation pertaining to the classical languages, more particularly that of the Sanscrit, with which they correspond in attaching the long quantity, not as the Greek and Latin do, to the *surd form* of the mute, but to the *vocal*. I shall illustrate this fact, with reference to the English and German also, by a table of comparative examples.

* The author of this paper, as far as he knows, was the first to discover this error. V. Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen, 1841, No. 238, p. 877.

† The case is not so even in the Sanscrit, where *surd mutes allied with h* are generally *tenues*.

Articulations.	Sanskrit.	Greek and Latin.	Gothic and English.	High German, Ancient and Modern.	Celtic, Welsh and Irish.
ital tenuis ... tan	<i>r̥eív-eiν, r̥av-vs;</i> tend-ere, ten-us, ten-er	<i>r̥eív-eiν, r̥av-vs;</i> tend-ere, ten-us, ten-er	G. than-jan, thann-i; E. thin	A. den-jan, dunn-i; M. dünn	W. tyn-u, ten-yn; I. tan-aigh.
ital media ... dant-a	<i>δ-δοντ-;</i> dent-...	<i>δ-δοντ-;</i> dent-...	G. tunth-u; E. tooth	A. zand (i.e. tsand); M. zahn	W. dant; I. dead.
ital aspirate . Dhā (Dhāt-ā, Dät-ere God) madhu	<i>riθη-μι</i> <i>μέθυ</i>	E. do E. mead	A. tuo-n; M. thu-n A. meth	W. Da-i (Maker, Creator); I. do. W. medd; I. meadh.	
ital tenuis	<i>xép-ar-;</i> corn-u	G. haurn; E. horn	M. horn	W. corn.	
ital media ... g'an	gen-ni	G. kuni; E. kind...	A. khunn-i, khind (infans); M. kind	W. gen-i; I. gean.	
ital aspirate . hans-a(instead of ghans-)	<i>χήν;</i> hans-er hoedus	G. gans; A.-S. gos; E. goose	A. kans; M. gans.	W. gwydd; I. geadh.	
ital tenuis ... pad-a	<i>ποδ-;</i> ped-	G. fot-u; E. foot...	A. vuoss; M. fuss	W. ped (in ped-awl, pedestr.).	
ital media	<i>λειβ-ω</i> ; labium.		E. lip ...	M. lippe	W. llyv-u, llav-ar.
ital aspirate .. bandh (with metathesis of h) bhū	<i>πειθ-;</i> foed-us... φυ-; fu-	G. bind-an; E. bind	A. pint-an; M. bind-en	W. bydd.	
		A.-S. be-om; E. to be	A. pi-m; M. bi-n...	W. bu; I. bi.	

We see from the preceding table, that whenever the connexion of an English or German word with the corresponding Celtic is natural and organic, the mute or mutes which it contains must differ in a certain regular way from those of the Celtic word, there being English *th* and German *d* instead of Celtic *t*; English *t* and German *z* (*ts*) instead of Celtic *d*; German *t* or *th* instead of Celtic and English *d*, and so on. And if, therefore, we now find English and German words corresponding to others in the Celtic, without exhibiting these regular features of difference, we cannot be mistaken in concluding that their relation to the Celtic is not natural and organic, but one which has arisen through accident. As examples of this class of words in the two languages, I shall mention the following, several of which it will be seen were already introduced into the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon.

English, to take; *Anglo-Saxon*, tac-an; *Gothic*, tek-an: from *Gaelic*, tagh—*Latin*, tango, *τάγω*.

Eng. to tread; *Modern German*, tret-en; *Gothic*, trud-an; *A.-Sax.* tred-an: from *Welsh*, troed; *Irish*, troidh (*pes*).

Eng. to toot; *M. G.* dut-en: from *Welsh*, twt-ach.

Eng. taper: from *Irish*, tap-ar—*Sanskrit*, tap.

Eng. time; *A.-Sax.* tim-e: from *Welsh*, tym, tym-mor; *Irish*, time—

Lat. tempus, *τέμενος*.

Eng. tower; *A.-Sax.* törr; *M. G.* thurm: from *Welsh*, twr—*Lat.* turris.

Eng. care, to care for ; *M. G.* sich kehren ; *Gothic*, kar-a, kar-jan : from *Welsh*, car-u ; *Irish*, car—*Lat.* car-us, cur-a.

Eng. car, cart ; *M. G.* karre : from *Welsh* and *Irish*, car, cart—*Lat.* currus.

Eng. to carp, carp-et : from *Welsh*, carpi-aw, carp (*vellus*) ; *Irish*, cearb—*Lat.* carp-o.

Eng. cup ; *M. G.* küb-el : from *Welsh*, cwp-an ; *Irish*, cup-a—*Lat.* cūp-a, κύπελλον.

Eng. to kiss ; *M. G.* küssen : *A.-Sax.* cyss-an : from *Welsh*, cus-aw—κύνυσε ; *Sans.* kuc.

(*Eng.* to choose) ; *M. G.* kies-en ; *Gothic*, kius-an ; *A.-Sax.* ceos-an : from *Welsh*, ceis-io—*Lat.* ques-o.

Eng. to clepe ; *M. G.* kleff-en ; *A.-Sax.* cliopan : from *Welsh*, clepio—*Sans.* clap.

Eng. pail : from *Welsh*, padell ; *Irish* padhal—*Lat.* patella.

Eng. pear (*M. G.* bir-ne) : from *Welsh* per-an—*Lat.* pirum.

Eng. peas (*Anc. G.* ar-bis-a) : from *Welsh* pys—*Lat.* pisellum ; *Fr.* pois.

Eng. petty : from *Welsh* peth, peth-an—*Lat.* petium ; *Fr.* pet-it.

Eng. prett-y : from *Welsh*, pryd-us.

I am disposed to include amongst those English and German words of Celtic origin, even such as, though they have not been left unchanged, yet have not been altered in the regular manner. I allude to those words with a labial or palatal tenuis, not, as it should have been, in the respective forms of *f(v)* and *h*, but of *b* and *g* : for instance,—

Eng. to bake ; *M. G.* back-en ; *A.-Sax.* bacen : from *Irish* bac-ail-im—*Sans.* pac.

Eng. bath ; *M. G.* bad ; *A.-Sax.* bath : from *Welsh* bath—*Sans.* pâth-a.

Eng. basket : from *Welsh*, basged ; *Irish*, basgaod—*Sans.* paç.

A.-Sax. beorg ; *Gothic*, baig (coll. fairguni) ; *M. G.* berg : from *Irish*, peirc—*Sans.* par-u.

Eng. bolt ; *M. G.* bolz-e (cf. flitz) : from *Welsh*, pal-adr.

A.-Sax. bil ; *M. G.* beil : from *Welsh* pil—πέλεκυς. *Sanser.* paraç-u.

A.-Sax. biddan ; *Gothic*, bidjan ; *M. G.* bitten : from pedi—pet-o.

Eng. bride ; *M. G.* braut ; *Gothic*, bruth- (coll. frij-on) : from priod-i—*Sans.* pri.

A.-Sax. gang-an ; *M. G.* gangen : from *Irish* ceang—*Sans.* kak, canc.

A.-Sax gram-o ; *M. G.* gram (coll. harm) : from *Irish* cream-aim.

M. G. gau ; *Gothic*, gau-i : from *Irish* caoi—pagus.

M. G. gauch (*Eng.* cock) : from *Welsh*, cog, coeg.

This effect, however, produced upon the Teutonic languages by their contact with the Celtic is not limited to the introduction of a certain number of words ; but it extends also over a portion of general grammatical observances in the etymological and syntactical, as well as in the phonic department. I shall not exhaust the patience of this meeting by entering on a full examination of all the Celtic influences of such a general kind which I think I have detected both in English and German : I shall confine myself to the consideration of one of them belonging to the phonic department, which is no other than that very change of articulation of which we have spoken, and in which I see the result of an adoption by the Teutonic of a peculiarity of the Celtic, which, owing to the primitive, innate difference in the character of the two nations and languages, could not be adopted without producing a complete systematic revolution in the phonic department of the Teutonic. The peculiarity of the Celtic, just mentioned, is that curious law of transmutation of the initial consonants by which this language is distinguished from all others. As a correct explanation of this law has not yet

found its way into any of the Welsh and Irish grammars extant*, I shall endeavour to give it here in as brief and succinct a manner as possible. Whenever a Celtic word beginning with one of the mutes—or likewise certain semi-vowels—happens to be, either from composition or syntax, preceded by, and at the same time grammatically connected with, another word which terminates, or anciently did terminate, with a vowel or the semi-vowel *n*, the initial consonant of the word, thus preceded and connected, must accommodate itself, by a systematic change, either in *form* or *shape*, of its own articulation, to that of the vowel or semi-vowel which preceded it: to such an effect, namely, that after a *vowel*, the mute becomes either, under the influence of the guttural flatus inherent in all vowels, aspirate (in the common English sense of the word†), or, under the influence of their vocal power, vocal when it is surd, and a semi-vowel when already vocal; and, in a similar manner, after the *semi-vowel n*, the mute, either influenced by its nasal articulation, assumes a nasal sound, or, influenced by its vocal power, turns from surd into vocal,—

For instance: Amplified by the prefix *a*—

The *Welsh* *trev* (*house, village*) becomes *a-threv*.

The *Irish* *tan* (*fire*) becomes *a-than*.

The *W.* *tail* (*house*) becomes *a-dail*.

The *I.* *bra* (*brow*) becomes *a-bhra* (*óphúis*).

Affected with the negative particle *di*—

The *W.* *barn* (*judgement*) becomes *di-varn, void of judgement*.

The *I.* *gair* (*word*) becomes *di-ghair* (*speechless*).

The *W.* *marw* (*dead*) becomes *di-varw* (*immortal*).

Combined with the word *og* (*young*)—

The *I.* *bean* (*woman*) becomes *og-bhean* (instead of *og-a-bhean*),
young woman, virgo.

With *mawr, mor* (*great*)—

The *W.* *clod* (*glory*) becomes *mawr-glod* (instead of *mawr-a-glod*).

The *I.* *clu* becomes *mor-chlu*.

Determined by the feminine article *an* (instead of *an-a*), in *Irish*, and *y, yr* (instead of *yr-i*), in *Welsh*—

The *I.* *bean* becomes *an bhean*.

The *W.* *ben-w* becomes *y venw*.

The *W.* *per-an* (*pear*) becomes *y beran*.

The *I.* *peir-e* becomes *an pheire*.

Preceded by the indefinite auxiliary verb *a* in *Welsh*, *do* in *Irish*—

The verb *can* (*canere*) makes in *W.* *mi a ganav*; in *I.* (*do*) *chanaim* (*cano*).

Affected with the negative particle *an*—

The *W.* words *car* (*friend*), *pech* (*sin*) become *an-nghar, am-mhech*;

And with the transitive particle *cy* (instead of *cyn*)

The *W.* *tes* (*heat*) makes *cy-nhesu* (*to heat*).

Preceded by the numeral *five*, *W.* *pump*, *F.* *cuig*, between which and the following noun the genitive preposition *n* is understood, the Welsh words *blynedd, diwrnod* (*year, day*), and the corresponding Irish *bliadhna, de* become respectively *mlynedd, niwrnod* (*pump niwrnod* instead of *pump-n-*

* Such an explanation was first indicated by Bopp in his paper ‘Ueber die celtischen Sprachen’ (1838), and was more fully developed by the author of this paper in his review of the works of Bopp and Pictet, in the ‘Wiener Jahrbücher,’ 1844, June and July; to which review we may be allowed to refer the learned reader for this portion of our argument as well as for the remainder, and still for the following argument.

† Not in the sense of the Greek word *dæστια* (*strong, long*).

diurnod) and *mbli-adhma, nde* (*cuig n de*): and preceded by the Irish article genitive plural *na*, after which the same genitive preposition *n* is understood, the Irish words *treas, cailleach, pearsa, fear* become respectively *dreas, gail-leach, bearsan, bear* (*na bear viorum, instead of na-n b'bear*).

The assuming of the guttural aspiration on the part of the consonant under the influence of the preceding vowel is the kind of change regularly adopted in Irish, whereas in Welsh the vocalization of the mute is now the general rule. It is unquestionable, however, from the gradual and even now only partial adoption of this rule in Welsh, that the Irish usage is the more ancient of the two, as is still further proved by its striking analogy with that of the *Dagesh lene* in Hebrew, which may serve to corroborate the view, founded in the physiology of sounds, that all mutes were primitively allied with guttural aspirations, and consequently, when they return to that alliance, only recover their full original power. With regard to the two kinds of change admissible after *n*, that resulting from the nasal power of the semi-vowel has been adopted in all cases by the Welsh; by the Irish only when the initial is a vocal mute; whereas, when it is a surd in Irish, it becomes affected by the vocal power of *n*. The following table will exhibit a comparative view of the different changes of the initial both in Welsh and Irish:—

Radical sounds.....		t	c	p	d	g	b	m	I. f	I. s	W. gw	W. ll	W. rh
After a vowel.	By aspiration..	th	ch	ph	I. dh W. dd	I. gh W. *	I. bh W. v	I. mh W. v	f h	sh, ts	w	l	r
	By vocalization	W. d	g	b									
After N.	By vocalization	I. d (dt)	I. g (ge)	I. b (bp)					L. b (bf)				
	By taking the nasal sound ..	W. nh	W. ngh	W. mb	W. n I. nd	ng	W. m I. mb						

The whole of the changes of initials effected by *n*, is in the Irish grammars known by the name of *eclipsis*, which refers more particularly to the way in which the transmutation is written in that language, namely, by placing the sign of the altered articulation before that of the radical one, which thus seems *eclipsed* by the former: for instance, *na gcailleach, bpearsan, bfear*.

The eclipsis is especially interesting, on account of the leading place which it takes in the system of Irish declension, its primitive cause there being the old Celtic preposition *n*, denoting the genitive, and in Irish more particularly the genitive plural, which case, together with the nominative singular of the feminine gender, marked by the influence of the (suppressed) feminine ending *a* or *i*, is made, by an ingenious method of combined expression for the differences at once of gender, number, and case, to determine the entire system (vide examples mentioned above). The suppression of the feminine vowel and the genitive *n* in the Irish declension, as well as the general suppression, both in Welsh and Irish, of the vowels and the semi-vowel *n*, nearly in all cases of syntax where the transmutation of the initial consonant takes place, I consider, so far from being a defect in the whole system, rather one of its particular beauties, inasmuch as, by distinctly showing the cause in the effect, it tends to husband the resources of the language, while it adds to its energy, and to carry the whole system of transmutation, the principle of which consists in a harmonious accordance of phonic and etymological distinctions, to the highest degree of perfection. The only phænomenon in universal grammar, known to me, to which this system, in all its magical expressiveness can be compared, is the similar one of change of vowels in the so-called *strong conjugation* in the Teutonic languages, the principle of which is to be found likewise in the suppression of a termination which

* Apocope of a vocal *h*, into which *g* had been transformed.

nevertheless is preserved, and as it were reflected, by the altered articulation of the inherent vowel of the root.

The Celtic system of transmuted initials and suppressed suffixes is, however, subject to one inconvenience, namely, that by tending perhaps towards a too intimate coalescence of the phonic and logical powers of speech, it may be more likely than any method of syntactical expression to obscure in the mind of the nation the consciousness of those grammatical distinctions to which it owes its origin. That such has been the case is evident from all the Welsh and Irish grammars extant; and how then can we wonder at the misapplication given to this system by the Teutonic tribes? The manner in which I think such a misapplication on their part gave rise to their altered scale of articulation is this.

Those combinations of *power, quantity, and form* in the mute deviating from the radical scale, which in Celtic are but of syntactical import, and of occasional, although of course most frequent occurrence, were adopted as radical and permanent by the Teutonic tribes, who took the tenuis in its altered form as the basis of a new scale of articulation, radically different from the Sanscritic, which they had till then retained. This explanation accounts also, as will be easily seen, for the second alteration which the new scale underwent in High German, the latter taking for a basis the *vocal tenuis*, whereas the Gothic had taken the *aspirate*, which, as we have observed, must be considered the more ancient of the two forms of alteration. The Gothic, having adopted the *th* (*p**) as the short or feeble, and retained the *d* as the long or strong dental mute, came to adopt the *t* as the middle (*dental media*); whereas the Old High German, having made the *d* its short dental mute and tending to follow out this new change by a complete deviation from the Gothic scale, took the *th* or *t* as the long, and the *z* (*ts*) as the middle mute.—And perhaps this is not the only instance in which the Teutonic mind has been misled, to bestow an absolute instead of a relative value on principles derived from the Celtic nation.

The *third argument* in favour of the study of the Celtic, on which we are now about to enter, refers to its general linguistical bearing, as a highly important member both of the family of human languages in general, and more particularly of the so-called Japhetic or Indo-Teutonic stock. One of the grandest results of modern comparative philology has been to show, that all languages belonging to one stock—and we may even say, enlarging this view, all languages of the earth—are but scattered indications of that primitive state of human intellect, and more particularly of the imitative faculty, under the highest excitement of poetical inspiration, in which the language originated, and with which every language remains connected as well through the physiological unity of the human race as through the historical unity of the family to which it more especially belongs. Of the divine art by which man in that happy primitive state of intellectual activity was enabled to understand the world and himself by means of imitative movements of his voice, and, at the same time, of the sacred treasure of ideas thus embodied in sound with which he then became entrusted, a certain portion only has been preserved and developed by each family of the human race, in accordance with its peculiar character and history, its virtues and defects. The most beautiful portion is undoubtedly that which has fallen to the lot of the Japhetic family; but this again has been divided amongst several nations, each of which possesses but one dialect of the great Japhetic language, and this but

* The peculiar sound of the Gothic (and English) *b* does not form an objection to this fact, since this sound is but the result of a local coalescence of the *t* with the guttural *flatus*, the latter having accommodated itself to the former by becoming dental. It is by a similar process that *pθ* and *kθ* coalesce and pass respectively into *f* (*φ*) and *ch* (*χ*).

fragmentary and imperfect, and in many of its parts not intelligible without a comparison of the sister dialects.

It will be known to most of my hearers, that the Japhetic family of languages, on which the labours of modern philology have been chiefly employed, and of which Bopp, in his *Comparative Grammar*, may be said to have given the first etymological analysis, comprises, as exhibited in his work, the seven following dialects—the Sanscrit, Old Persian, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Sclavonic and Teutonic. It will be known perhaps also, that in consequence of the works of Dr. Prichard and M. Pictet*, the Celtic has, since the appearance of Bopp's Comparative Grammar, been acknowledged as the eighth of these sister languages, the entire circle of which, and thereby the comparative understanding of each of them, seems thus completed. Traces of the new light, which has been thrown upon this family by the acknowledgement of the Celtic as one of the Indo-Teutonic dialects, may already be perceived in several works of modern philology, particularly in the last edition of Bopp's Dictionary. One great prejudice however seems still to be clinging to the school to which we owe the scientific demonstration of the affinity of the Celtic with the Sanscrit—intimately connected perhaps with that very accuracy and soundness in its method of investigation for which we admire it—which has hitherto prevented that demonstration from yielding all the immense advantages which science had reason to expect from it. I mean that the writers of this school are as it were chained down to regard the Sanscrit both as the historical and philosophical *ne plus ultra* of the comparative grammar of the Japhetic dialects, and by an exclusive system of minute references to this “Indo-Teutonic mother-tongue,” as they call it, have lost sight of any stage of human speech, independent of, and perhaps anterior to the Sanscrit, which may be involved in one of its sister dialects. In examining the Celtic, Pictet and Bopp easily discovered that this language, while in one portion of its grammatical usages it exhibits a systematic affinity with the Sanscrit, in another exhibits an evident estrangement from it. But Pictet, instead of beginning his analysis with a comparison of these two portions, which he would thus have found to form one inseparable living whole, limited himself to the analysis of the Sanscritic portion, putting aside the other as a mere secondary admixture, the result as he supposed of accidental contact with one of the non-Japhetic languages; and by so doing he placed himself in a position that could not but lead to a misinterpretation of many features of even the Sanscritic portion. Bopp, on his part, though he did enter on the analysis of the non-Sanscritic portion, yet having confined his view to some isolated features—particularly the Irish declension—and having examined even these only under the influence of his Sanscritic prepossessions, detected in them nothing but mutilated and degenerated forms of his favourite tongue, whereas he might have seen that the Sanscrit, in several of these very features which he analysed, exhibits, if not mutilated forms, at least the *caput mortuum* of a Celtic element.

Of the leading features in which the Celtic differs from the Sanscrit, we have already mentioned and explained one, belonging to the phonic department, namely, the transmutation of initials: another belonging to the same department is the transmutation of vowels, which is regulated by laws similar to, but much more fully developed than those which determine the transmutation of primary and secondary vowels (*Umklang* and *Abklang*, or, with Grimm, *Umlaut* and *Ablaut*) in the Teutonic.

The moral principle of language in which originate both these features

* *De l'Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; par Adolphe Pictet. Mémoire couronné par l'Institut. Paris, 1837.

may be said to consist in *flexibility* and *elasticity*. And if I were to designate in the same way the principle of most of the leading non-Sanscritic features in the etymological department, I should call it *analytical distinctness*: flexibility, elasticity, analytical distinctness—and are not these the qualities which most nearly represent the character of the whole Celtic nation?—But the idea I have touched upon in the phrase *analytical distinctness* requires some farther explanation, for which I must solicit the kind attention of my hearers.

When we compare our modern European languages, the English and French for instance, with the ancient, especially the Latin and Greek, we are struck by one marked difference in their grammatical characters, namely, the different manner in which they express *relative* or *incidental* notions or ideas. By the term *relative* or *incidental* we designate and distinguish from the other great class of notions, which we call *substantive*, all those notions or ideas which, at the same time that they exclusively represent phenomena of a certain general and categorical meaning, moreover represent each of them, not with reference to itself, but only to two or several other phenomena which of course always belong to the class of *substantive* notions. For instance, in the sentence, *the horse is struck by a spear*,—*equus tangitur telo*—the three substantive notions of which, as of its substantial elements, the proposition is composed, are expressed by the words *horse*, *struck*, *spear*, whereas the four particles *the*, *is*, *by*, *a*, express the relative or incidental notions of the sentence, which evidently does not receive from them the addition of any new independent element, but merely the connexion and determination of the three above-mentioned. And the equivalent Latin sentence which I have mentioned will at once have directed the attention of my hearers to the nature of the difference which we have stated to exist between ancient and modern languages, in expressing relative or incidental notions. The notions in the above sentence belonging to that class are in English rendered by four separate and auxiliary words placed beside the principal, whereas in Latin they are rendered through the *inflection*, as it is generally called, of the latter. But what is *inflection*? It is a system of etymological combinations, by which any one of those elementary parts of imitative articulation which (by a metaphorical term referring to the analogy existing between the development of plants and words) are usually called *roots*, and more especially any one of those *roots* which express *substantive* ideas, and which for this reason we may call *substantive roots*, becomes, in connected speech, regularly allied with one or several of another class of roots which differ from the former, both in form and meaning, the one being generally slighter than that of substantive roots, and consisting not, as most of those, in a double, but in a simple articulation, the other (the meaning) being always that of an incidental or relative idea. The place occupied by the *incidental root* may be either before or after the substantive root: in the former case it is called *prefix*, and in the latter, which is by far the more general, *suffix*. And having thus defined the term inflection—which in a more appropriate sense refers particularly to the mode of interchange which takes place between several incidental roots as becoming alternately attached to one substantive root—we may say that the great difference alluded to, between ancient and modern languages, consists in the former expressing incidental notions by *auxiliary words*, and the latter by *auxiliary roots*: for instance, in the example above given, the notions expressed in English by the words *the*, *is*, *by*, *a*, are expressed in Latin respectively by the three suffixes (one of them double) *us*, *it-ur*, *o*.

The comparative advantages and disadvantages of these two methods may be easily understood. The one, uniting the incidental with the substantive

notion under the same emission and intonation of voice, and blending both, for the mind as well as the ear and the eye, into one organized whole, composed, as it were, both of an etymological and a phonic *arsis* and *thesis*, is more fit to exercise the synthetic and artistic capabilities of the human intellect, of which moreover it favours the development, by perfecting what may be called the *objective* beauty of language, inasmuch as, through the varying union of a series of suffixes with one unchanging root, it endues the process of inflexion with the appearance of vital activity. The other method, which gives distinct breath and accent to each incidental notion, and so both to the corporeal and intellectual eye is constantly renewing that difficult process of the understanding, through which the primitive root, which always involved a full sentence, has decomposed itself into its logical elements, is better calculated for the exercise of the analytical and discriminating powers of the intellect, and as it prevents the meaning even of the slightest imitative sound from being obscured, serves to quicken the consciousness of each minute member of the sentence, and thus to augment the *subjective force* of the language.

And now which of these two methods is the more ancient? In the Teutonic languages it is certain that the analytical tendency which now predominates in their etymological department is not the primitive one, inasmuch as it is not found in their most ancient dialect, the Gothic, which has nearly all the synthetic habits of the Sanscrit and the Latin: and hence, in every language in which the analytical method of declension and conjugation has been observed, it has been suspected by modern philology to be the effect of decomposition. But the case is different with the Celtic, which by its entire structure, as well as by its history, lays claim to a much higher antiquity than the Teutonic, and reaches back to an epoch in the history of human speech anterior, as we may infer from philosophical considerations, to that of the synthetic principle represented by the Sanscrit, and during which the analytical principle must have prevailed. This conclusion is fully borne out, and confirmed as a fact, by one of the greatest discoveries of modern philology, that of the Old Egyptian. This language, at the same time that it shows in a considerable portion of its grammatical features—especially the formation of roots, the choice and specification of their meaning, and the system of conjugation—a decided primitive affinity to the Sanscrit, in another manifests an almost total absence of the observances of etymological synthesis, so systematically carried out by the younger language, thus proving that the decomposition which has taken place in the Teutonic languages, with reference to the Sanscrit, is, with reference to the more ancient mother-tongue, only a kind of return to their original state. And I have no doubt that this return has been effected not more by their instinctive tendency to recover the lost perception of the meaning of most of the incidental roots than by the influence of the Celtic, which in all its non-Sanscritic features most strikingly corresponds with the Old Egyptian.

This correspondence refers first, to a considerable number of specified roots and words, which, as far as I am aware, belong exclusively to those two languages; *e.g.*

Eg. ra, sun.

- aah, moon.
- siw, star.

— val, eye.

— mas, to suckle, young, child.

Ir. là, day.

— eagh, moon.

W. syw, bright, clean. sew-yd, stars.
syw-ed, astronomy.

— gwel-ed, to see.

Ir. meas, child; W. moes, sucking,
nursing, education (coll. Lat.
mos).

<i>Eg.</i> <i>rar, child.</i>	<i>Ir.</i> <i>ail, child.</i> (<i>W.</i> <i>eil, God.</i> 762).
— <i>man, to go.</i>	<i>W.</i> <i>myn-ed.</i>
— <i>man, rock, stone.</i>	— <i>maen; Ir.</i> <i>main</i> (coll. <i>Lat. maenia;</i> <i>Hebr. e-ben</i>).
— <i>ev, to be thirsty.</i>	— <i>yv-ed, to drink</i> (coll. <i>Lat.</i> <i>eb-r-ius</i>).
— <i>neb, every one.</i>	— <i>neb, whatever.</i>
— <i>neb, lord.</i>	— <i>nev</i> (<i>God.</i> 151), <i>nav, lord.</i>
— <i>ma, place.</i>	— <i>ma, place.</i>

Secondly, to several incidental roots of great import in the etymological department: *e. g.*

3 pers. masc. *Eg.* *ef, o; W.* *ev, o.*

3 pers. suffix. *Eg.* *f* (*ai-f, he goes*); *W.* *f* (*ai-ff*).

2 pers. masc. singular and plural *Eg.* *k* (*ai-k, thou goest*); *W.* *ch* (*ae-ch, you were going*); *el-och, thou didst go.*

Indefinite auxiliary verb. *Eg.* *ar, au* (*ar ai-f*); *W.* *yr, a* (*yr ai-ff*).

Thirdly, to the system of combining, in the form of suffixes, the personal pronouns with the prepositions, a usage similar to that which prevails in the Hebrew, where personal pronouns are suffixed to substantive nouns, but which is more remarkable in a linguistic point of view, inasmuch as it implies the consciousness of the primitive meaning of prepositions, which was always that of substantive nouns; *e. g.*

Eg. (*a)r-of, ar-o, toward him.*

W. *ar-n-o* (the *n* is genitive preposition), *upon him.*

— (*a)r-ok, towards thee.*

— *er-och, towards you.*

— (*a)n-ok, about thee.*

— *am-dan-och, about you.*

— *hra-k, before thy face, before thee.*

— *rhag-och, before you.*

Fourthly and principally, it refers to the expressing incidental notions by roots, in the character of separate and independent words, which are used in Sanscrit to express the same notions, but as suffixes and prefixes, and in a much more limited signification.—Thus, in the conjugation of the verb, the three persons, which the Sanscrit regularly expresses by the personal pronouns combined, under the form of suffixes, with the verbal root, are expressed in Celtic sometimes in the same way, but in other cases by the same pronominal roots under the form of separate auxiliary words, which may be placed indifferently either before or after the verbal root: a flexibility of expression to which the Egyptian supplies a parallel, the use of the pronoun, as *suffix*, belonging to the *sacred*, and as *prefix* to the *demotic* (popular) dialect of this language; *e. g.*

Eg. sacred dialect, *ai-f, ai-k, ai-a* (*it, is, eo*).

— demotic dialect, *ef-ai, ek-ai, ei-ai.*

W. *can-u-ri* (*Godod.* 612) or *can-a-v* (*canam*).

— *cen-i-t(i)* (*canes*). *can-o* (*cecinerit*).

— *can-er vi, ti, evo* (*canor, caneris, canitur*).

— *canu yr wyv* (*canere sum*) alternating with *can-wyv* (*cano*).

I. *can-aim* (*cano*); *can-t-ar me* (*canor*).

Thus the Welsh indefinite auxiliary verb *a, to go, to be*, which, even as the corresponding Egyptian *au* (*Coptic o*), is placed before substantive verbs (*verba concreta*) to mark the indefinite mood, appears in Sanscrit and Greek as the well-known *augment*: *e. g.* *Welsh*, *a ddysg-odd, he did teach*; *Sansc.* *a-diks,-a-ta*; *é-δίδαξε**.

* The author of this paper was the first, as far as he knows, to indicate this origin of the augment, in an article on two ancient Italian inscriptions (inserted in the *Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen*, April, 1843) and afterwards in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*.

And thus also, to mention an instance which I have already alluded to, the word *n*, which, alternating with *m* (and undoubtedly identical with the word *m*, *ma*, place), serves in Egyptian as a preposition to denote all cases, though particularly the genitive, serves in Celtic (where it is generally contained, as we have seen, in the transmutation of the initial) to denote exclusively the genitive, and more particularly the genitive plural, to which in Sanscrit, Greek and Latin, it has been regularly limited: e.g. *Egypt.* *nef n* anach, *breadth of life*; *sont n ataf*, *avenger of his father*; *fitw m ah-aya*, *four (of) oxen*.—*Welsh*, Caer-n-arvon, *town of Arvon*; *ar-n-av* (*vide supra*), saith niwrnod (instead of “saith *n diwrnod*,” *septem dierum*).—*Irish*, iar *n-dilinn*, *after the deluge* (originally, *in the back, west, of the deluge*), na-n-dia (pronounced na-n-ia), *of the days*.—*Sansc.* *diu-n-am*.—*Lat.* *die-r-um* (coll. *Old High Ger.* *kep-ön-o*; *A.-Sax.* *giv-en-a*, *of the gifts*).

Now, weighing all these affinities of the Celtic with the Egyptian on the one side, and the Sanscrit on the other, I believe we may be justified in saying that it occupies a place in history between both, and marks an intermediate stage in the development of human language, and more especially of the Japhetic, between the analytical fluidity of its genial infancy and that beautiful synthetic consistence, so to speak, of its vigorous maturity, as we find it represented in the Sanscrit.

The intermediate position which we have assigned to the Celtic, with respect to the different epochs of the Japhetic languages, it still holds, as regards the relation of this family with the Semitic and Finnish, both of which participate in many of its non-Sanscritic features. It appears to be also by this internal relationship, much more than by external contact, that we must explain the resemblance of many Celtic elements with those of two languages, both of which seem to belong to a Celto-Finish branch, I mean the Basque and Etruscan*.

And if at present, once more passing our eye successively over the fields of ethnology, history of language and philosophy of grammar, we take one full view of all the light which falls on them from the study of the Celtic, we may perhaps find it excusable, that the Celts were so much dazzled by it as to fancy that in that language they had discovered the mother-tongue of mankind as well as the key of all worldly and divine science; though all that they have achieved in carrying out their fancies has certainly been only to obscure, and for a long time to discredit, that very study to which they attached such supreme importance.

As a fourth argument in favour of that study, and perhaps the most weighty of all, I might add, the access which it opens to the study of modern Celtic literature, a literature as interesting in an artistic as an historical point of view, and which, by a long series of poetical and historic works, some as ancient perhaps as the fifth century of our era, and all abounding in the genuine features of native art and inspiration, exhibits the Celtic origin of two of the principal elements of modern European literature, *rhyme* and *allegorical romance*. But the very copiousness of this subject forbids me to enter upon it on this occasion.

I shall conclude this discourse with the fervent hope, in which I sincerely trust my hearers participate, that the two dialects of this highly important and beautiful language, still extant in the island of *Pryd*, may never cease to subsist, but may be maintained, both by their own vital energy and by the enlightened care of the government, as constituting one of the most precious, as well as most ancient gems in the Imperial Crown.

* As regards the advantage which may be derived from the Celtic for the elucidation of the Etruscan, vide the article last quoted in the *Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen*.

On the Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India. By Dr. MAX MÜLLER.

THE interest which the Bengali language presents to oriental scholars, and which induces them to devote their time to the study of this Indian dialect, may be viewed under three different heads, as *practical*, *literary*, and *linguistical*.

On the first point, it is hardly necessary to enter into any details. The English people, who have been called to rule the destinies of more than a hundred millions of souls in the East, one-tenth of whom make use of the Bengali as their vernacular dialect, have well understood the duties of those who have been appointed to govern this great oriental empire. Great exertions have been made to give sufficient training to those who are destined to execute the various duties connected with the internal government of India; and it has not been thought enough that they should receive such an education as would entitle them to employments in their own country, but it has been felt that it was peculiarly incumbent upon them to study the languages of the people over whom they were to be placed, not as the sons of a foreign and conquering nation, to raise taxes, to punish disobedience, and to suppress every trace of national feeling, but as men devoted to the higher object of inspiring confidence, of winning affection, and of promoting for the benefit of the native population the benign influence of European civilization. With this view of the mission which the English people have been desirous of fulfilling in India, it could not be considered enough for an officer to understand just so much or so little of Persian and Hindustani, as to decipher representations and complaints, or to convey official decrees to a subject people. For though these two languages may have some claim to be regarded as the official languages of India, particularly among the higher classes of the natives, yet they are, like the French in Europe, unknown to the great mass of the population, and of little use therefore for the ordinary purposes of daily life. Although, then, a prejudice may have prevailed for some time against the study of the vernacular dialects spoken in the large and densely peopled districts of India, it was soon acknowledged, that for local communication and for an immediate and effective intercourse with the people, a knowledge of provincial languages like the *Bengali*, *Marathi*, *Telugu*, *Tamil*, *Carnatika* and *Cingalese*, was of no less importance and necessity than that of the more fashionable Persian and Hindustani.

But, as Professor Wilson, the distinguished president of our Section, whose name is as much cherished by the natives of India as it is esteemed by the learned men of Europe, well remarks, it is not enough to understand the language of a people; the people themselves must be understood with all their popular prejudices, their daily observances, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, their national traditions, their mythological fables, their metaphysical abstractions, and their religious worship. The best means of acquiring such a knowledge is generally to be found in the literature of the people. It is however necessary to confess that upon this point, namely, the literary interest of the language, the Bengali is poor, and inferior in this respect to most of the other vernacular languages. There existed, indeed, scarcely anything worthy to be called literature in Bengali before the settlement of the missionaries in Bengal, and it is due to their unwearyed exertions that the Bengali has become in any sense a literary language, and has arrived at a certain degree of grammatical regularity. Nor need we be surprised at this, when we

remember that in Bengal, the Sanscrit, though no longer a living and spoken language, continued to be employed as the learned language by every literary man, just as in Europe for many centuries we meet with scarcely any literary composition in the language of the people, while voluminous works were composed and circulated in Latin, then in a great measure a dead language.

But though it has been customary for a long time to appreciate the value of a language by either its merely practical use, or by the interest which its literature was capable of exciting, yet the study of languages has, particularly in latter days, taken a new turn, and instead of considering a language only as a useful instrument for social conversation or literary amusement and instruction, men begin at length to understand that language has of itself an intrinsic value, which recommends its study to all those who think it a worthy occupation to investigate the nature of the human mind in its first and primitive manifestation by language, and in the historical progress and individual developments of it, preserved to us in the numberless branches of human speech. This study, usually called *Comparative Philology*, has taken for its base the analytical comparison of the grammatical and etymological structure of language in different countries and ages, and has succeeded, by pointing out striking affinities as well as characteristical discrepancies, in arranging the languages of the most prominent nations of the world into great families, which have spread from the south to the north in many and diverse forms, though at the same time united by unextinguishable marks of a former unity and affiliation. With this discovery, a new æra in the history of philology has arisen, and it is India which, by its ancient language, the Sanscrit, has placed the *Ariadnic* thread in the hands of European scholars, like Rask, F. Schlegel, W. von Humboldt, Bopp, Burnouf, Grimm, and others, who were endeavouring to find their way through the intricate paths of the labyrinth of human speech.

It is therefore no exaggeration to call Sanscrit the *language of languages*, since it is only by means of it that we have arrived at any real understanding of the other languages as languages, and since it is the Sanscrit chiefly which has made those languages speak out distinctly, and has unveiled to us their real origin, character and meaning. Sir William Jones, when he first became acquainted with the Sacred language of India, said, "The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a strong affinity;" and it would be difficult to characterise this language better than in the words of Mr. Brian Hodgson, who was so long resident in Nepal, "that it is a speech, capable of giving soul to the objects of sense, and body to the abstractions of metaphysics."

The great advantage however which Sanscrit offers to the study of Comparative Philology, consists not only in the perspicuous originality of its grammatical structure, and in the rich variety of its etymological derivations, but in the opportunities which it affords to us of following the history of a language through all the stages of its development, from the early period of its Vedic Inspiration, through that of its Epic poetry; its didactic moral and legal compositions; its philosophical speculations, dramatic representations and lyrical effusions, down to that which may be called its Alexanderine period, and the age of the final extinction of all its vital principles; while even then it exhibits a new and not less interesting phasis, by exhibiting to us the most striking and instructive analogies with the origin and

development of what we generally call the *Romance languages*. For, as the old language of Rome and Italy, after losing its vital strength and expressive power, and after entering into a state of entire stagnation and putrefaction, formed thereby a kind of mould, or as Chevalier Bunsen has called it yesterday, a kind of humus, from which again a variety of other languages sprung up, full of new life, and fit to serve the intellectual wants of a new age, so we see in India different modern dialects arising from the tomb of the Sanscrit language.

Among these new languages the Bengali has the highest claims on our attention, because it has preserved a closer affinity to the Sanscrit than any one of the other derived languages.

All the languages now spoken in India, with the exception of the dialects of some savage Vindhya tribes, may be divided into two great classes, viz. those of the north and those of the south, of which the northern have strong claims to an Indo-Germanic origin, while the southern seem to be more closely connected with the language of the aboriginal and non-brahminical inhabitants of India, modified to a greater or less degree, particularly in their literary employment, by the influence of the dominant Sanscrit. But even in the north of India, and among a people who, immigrating into this country, brought with them their own language, religion and civilization, there existed many dialectic differences which are not to be considered as mere corruptions from the Sanscrit, but as independent contemporaneous idioms. These are generally called the *Pracrit* dialects; and some of them have their own peculiar name, derived from the countries wherein they were spoken, as for instance, the *Sauraseni*, the language of *Surasena*, the *Sárasvata*, spoken on the banks of the *Sarasvatí*, the *Magadhi* or *Pali*, the language of *Magadha*, and probably the dialect spoken in this country at the time when the Buddhistical religion took its historical origin, and therefore employed by the founders of that system, who, addressing themselves to the people, were obliged to use the native language, instead of the then already obscure idiom of the sacred books of the Brahmins. It may be observed that in the Vedic hymns also, which belonged to different *Arian* families and congregations who settled in India, some dialectic differences and many grammatical discrepancies occur, which sometimes bear a slight resemblance to Pracrit forms; a fact, of which my learned friend Dr. Weber, who has promised an edition of the *Yajurveda*, intends to afford ample proofs from the hymns and Brahmanas of this Veda. As far however as our knowledge goes at present, we must consider the Sanscrit of the Vedas, together with the whole classical literature of the Hindús, as a language dialectically differing from the Pracrit, though both branches derive their origin from the same source. They stand to each other in a relation similar to that in which the High German stands to the Low German, that is to say, they proceed with a sort of parallelism, sometimes approaching each other very nearly, sometimes diverging considerably, so that a person speaking the one would find great difficulty in understanding the other at first, yet, if living in the same place, with frequent communications with the people who were speaking the other, he would find much greater facilities in acquiring a knowledge of this dialect than of any really foreign language.

This must, indeed, have been the fact in India. *First*, we see at the time of Buddhism, people in daily intercourse speaking these two languages; *then* we are told that the author of the most famous *Pracrit* grammar, *Katyá-yand*, was the same who wrote additional notes to the great work on Sans-

crit grammar by *Panini*, his contemporary or immediate predecessor; and, finally, we find in one branch of *Sanskrit* literature, which was more than any other destined for the higher as well as for the lower classes, viz. in the dramatic compositions, a constant mixture of *Sanskrit* and *Pracrit* dialects, which unfold there an unexpected wealth of melodious poetry. Strange as such a combination of different dialects may seem, we find a similar fact in Italy, where each of the masked persons in the *Comedie dell' arte* was originally intended as a kind of characteristic representation of some particular Italian district or town. Thus *Pantaleone* was a Venetian merchant, *Dottore* a Bolognese physician, *Spavento* a Neapolitan braggadocio, *Puttinello* a wag of Apulia, and *Trechino* a blundering servant of Bergamo. Each of these personages was clad in a peculiar dress; each had his peculiar mask, and each spoke the dialect of the place which he represented. Besides these and a few other such personages, of which at least four were introduced into each play, there were the *Amorosos* and *Inamoratas*, that is, some men and women who acted various parts with *Smeraldina*, *Colombina*, *Spilettina* and other females, who played the parts of *serviettas* or waiting-maids. All these spoke Tuscan or Roman, and wore no masks.

All the Indian dialects, which under their ancient form are hardly surpassed by the *Sanskrit* itself in the copiousness and originality of their grammatical forms, had, as the language of a great portion of the people, an ever-increasing influence upon the modern languages of India, and entered largely into the formation of almost all the spoken dialects in the north, while in Bengal, except some analogous corruptions by contraction and assimilation, which every language undergoes in the mouth of a people, there are very few traces of the *Pracrit* dialects. I consider therefore the Bengali, as the modern *Sanskrit* standing to its parent, the old and classical *Sanskrit*, almost in the same relation as the modern High German to the old High German, as the modern Italian to the language of Rome.

The differences which I have tried to point out in the course of my grammatical analysis of the Bengali language, are chiefly these: the great variety of suffixes and internal changes of words, which served to express the different local and causal relations which one object may have with another, that is, the whole system of the ancient declensions is almost entirely lost, because the people corrupting the form and forgetting the proper meaning of those formative syllables could no longer express by them what they wished; they substituted therefore for them new and expressive suffixes, employed prepositions, and had recourse to compounds, in order to express an idea which the older language was able to express by the simple changes of a vowel. The same thing took place in the system of conjugations, where the old and simple forms were, with few exceptions, superseded by periphrastical formations. Besides, the meanings of the words were themselves subject to the same influence; they became emaciated and debilitated, and after losing soul and body, were degraded into a kind of conventional money, like paper currency, well adapted for a modern age. In the same manner, as we hardly feel what we are expressing, for instance, by the words "I thank you," words, indeed, which have become a mere conventional phrase or sound, in uttering which we do not reflect that they originally mean, "I shall think often of it;" the natives of Bengal say *kitojno* or *sombodhho hoy*. In the ancient language, however, *Kṛitajnah* expresses still the real meaning of knowing (*jnah*) what has been done (*krita*), and *sambaddhah*, if the word was at all employed in this sense, had still the meaning of being bound.

to a person, while in Bengali it is nothing more than the modern English phrase, "very much obliged."

I do not pretend at present to enter more into this subject, which can only be sufficiently elucidated by laying down general principles and rules for the origin, development, transitions, and combinations of the ideas represented by words, the affinity of which has been proved by historical comparison; but I do not consider the object of comparative philology fully attained, unless, like the changes of vowels and consonants, general analogies and natural laws have been deduced for the formation of the meaning in roots and words which belong to one common stem. For, as (Locke) has said in his Essay concerning Human Understanding, "the consideration of *ideas* and *words*, as the great instruments of knowledge, makes no despicable part of their contemplation, who would take a view of human knowledge in the whole extent of it; and perhaps if they were distinctly weighed and duly considered, they would afford us another sort of logic and critic, than what we have hitherto been acquainted with."

The question about the origin of the dialects now spoken in India has occupied the attention of many of the most distinguished Orientalists. Colebrooke, in his article on the Sanscrit and Prakrit languages, does not give his opinion quite clearly about the distinction which is to be drawn between the northern and southern dialects, a distinction which was afterwards established by the ingenious Essays of (Ellis.) Afterwards, whenever a question arose about the languages now current in India, the constant answer has been, without contradiction, that the languages spoken in the north are of an Indo-Germanic descent, while those in the south belong to a different stock. The best proof of the Sanscrit origin of these northern Indian dialects was considered to lie in the great number of words adopted from the Sanscrit, which amount in Hindi and Bengali to nine-tenths, and even in Marathi to four-fifths of the words contained in the dictionaries of these languages. Although such a computation of the lexicographic means of languages would seem to have settled the question definitely, yet we must confess that the method of proving the common origin of languages by a mere computation of similar words is not quite in accordance with the principles laid down by the modern school of linguistic philosophy.

The great progress in the study of languages, accomplished in our century, has been, to find the distinctive character of a language, not so much in the *copia verborum*, as in the grammatical structure of the language itself. It is the discovery of this principle which has led the founders of comparative philology to those triumphant conclusions, by which they have brought idioms distant in time and space back to one source and to one general principle. Comparisons which in the last century were considered as undeniable, as *mors*, *μόρος*, *mord*, are now looked upon as untenable, not so much because these words do not point to the same origin, but because the way in which they have been derived grammatically, and developed logically, can now be proved to have been quite a different one in the different languages.

By finding out the living principle of language, by tracing the operative power of it, as the formative element of speech and as the real organ of thought, all the sciences connected with the study of language, like mythology, ethnology and archæology, have taken quite a new turn. If mythology is not any longer to be considered as an invention of poets or as an imposition of priests, but if we find in it, at least in its most ancient and most original part, a representation of ancient thought, expressed and fixed in ancient language; if mythology may now be looked upon as a petrifaction of

the first efforts of the awakening conscience of the human race, the gigantic, sometimes sublime and sometimes monstrous forms of which must be reduced to their simple form and true meaning by the general laws of language and thought, just in the same manner as comparative physiology reduces the stupendous forms of antediluvian fossils to the laws of the living species to which they are found to belong—then we must give up theories which have prevailed for centuries, as that of deriving the mythology of Greece from that of Egypt. For as far as the language of these two countries is different in all that constitutes their respective peculiarity and character, so far the mythology of Greece is different from that of Egypt. (In that country, where etymology has found the roots and the most primitive and transparent form of the grammatical system of the Greek and Latin languages, mythology will find the first formations and the very genesis of their religious systems.) In order to succeed, however, such an inquiry must be based upon sound and historical principles. It can lead to no satisfactory conclusion, to compare a secondary formation of Indian mythology like the system of the Puráñas with the mythology of Homer, which although on many points more ancient than the Puranic mythology, is nevertheless not to be considered as a primitive one. But if we go back to the oldest form of Indian mythology which we find in the Vedas, if even then we divest the old Vedic conceptions of all that is accidental or secondary in them, then we may expect—not indeed to find Greek or Latin mythology any more than the Greek or Latin language—but at all events to come nearest to the focus from which mythological ideas took their first beginning, following afterwards in their development the individual and national development of the different branches of the Arian stock.

In the same way as comparative philology has formed this new basis for a true appreciation of mythology, it has also given quite a new feature to ethnology and archæology. It has become possible to arrange the most prominent nations of the world into great families, on the ground of the connection between the languages spoken by them, and particularly according to the grammatical genius of these languages. And if we look at those important discoveries, which partly have been made, partly are still preparing, in reference to the old history and archæology of the empires of Babylon, Assyria, Media and Persia, how could these grand results have been achieved without the aid of a thorough knowledge of general and comparative grammar? If we compare the manner in which, at the beginning of this century, a man of the name of Lichtenstein tried to decipher the inscriptions of Babylon, merely by the similarity in the shape of letters and the supposed similarity in the sound of words with a Semitic idiom, with the system upon which similar studies are now conducted by men like Burnouf, Lassen, Rawlinson, Hincks and Benfey, we must admit that linguistic science has created quite a new field for these archæological inquiries. For when once we know to which family of languages the idiom of these old inscriptions belongs, the grammatical forms themselves, as they may be determined by approximative conjectures, become an instrument for deciphering the alphabet, and particularly the vocalism of the old language. It is true that till at present this has been achieved with the Iranian inscriptions only, when all the latest discoveries concerning the peculiar character of many letters and the whole system of inherent vowels have only been arrived at by means of a thorough knowledge of the Iranian grammar. But the light begins to dawn also upon the rocks of Van and the ruins of Babylon; and if we may judge by faint glimpses, the language of the one will be an Indo-Germanic one, while that of the other points more to a Semitic origin.

If then it is true that the grammatical system constitutes the character of a language, and assigns to every idiom its proper place in relation to other languages, we must admit that for the modern Indian dialects little has yet been done to prove their Indo-Germanic origin. The consequence of this has been, that the hostile spirit of a party, which has been working for the last years, particularly in India and in this country, to attack all the theories of Sanscrit antiquarians, has chosen the modern languages of India as a weak point, in order to prove that, as they have no connexion by their grammatical system with the pretended old language of India, the Sanscrit, this sacred language itself has never exercised any real influence upon the people, just as they have tried to prove that the literature, the religion, morals and philosophy of the Brahmins have never historically existed but in the hands of some foreign immigrating priests.

This has been a natural reaction against another system, which in its enthusiasm for Brahminism was as unscientific as the other, and which saw Brahmins, Brahminical wisdom, mysteries and religion, not only in every part of India from the remotest time, but which found Brahmins as the founders of civilization over the whole world, connected not only with the religious systems of Egypt and Greece, but even at the bottom of the Christian doctrine. Instead of this ubiquity, which was formerly ascribed to the Brahmins, we find it difficult at present, if adopting the views of this anti-Brahminical school, to assign even the smallest place in India to them; so that at last, if they do not submit to become antediluvian Buddhists, they will be exiled in to the plains of Tartary, from where we are taught now that the grammatical system of the spoken Indian dialects took its origin.

But, as I have said before, I consider this negative tendency as a natural reaction against many too positive assertions, which have been current without sufficient proof. I think even that, as in every other branch of science, this sceptic and negative spirit, which has called into doubt the most important and fundamental points of Indian antiquities, has caused a great deal of good, by calling forward new inquiries and deeper researches. Nor do I deny that the principle upon which the intentions of this negative school are professedly based may be a wise and philanthropic one, in so far as they believe that, by proving Brahminism to be neither unfathomable in its antiquity nor unchangeable in its character, it may be allowed to infer that by proper means, applied in a cautious, kindly and forbearing spirit, such farther changes may be effected as will raise the intellectual standard of the Hindus, improve their moral and social condition, and assist to promote their eternal welfare. But, after all, an independent, historical and philosophical inquiry into the origin, antiquity, and the development of Indian civilization has nothing to do with political and moral considerations; and if English Christian missionaries want to find precedents for the changeableness of the Brahminical religion, they will have a much better case by proving historically the influence which the Buddhist belief has produced on the anterior system of Brahminism, than by asserting that Brahminism has never existed as the religion of the people before the rise of Buddhism.

In the scarcity of historical documents for deciding such questions, it has always appeared to me that the language of India itself, in the different forms under which it appears to us during its historical development, would be the best, and sometimes the only means of giving to such questions a definite answer. If after a lapse of two thousand years any one should attempt to prove that the Christian religion has always existed from the earliest time in Europe, that documents written in Italian were to be considered as the real documents of the Christian doctrine, and that other documents, if written in

Latin, were only to be considered as written in a language which had been derived and put together (*sanskrita*) artificially by learned priests, but that this language itself had never been the language of a people living on the same soil with a different religion before the rise of Christianity, it would still be questionable whether, even in the supposed absence of all historical evidence, a philosophical view of the nature of language would admit such a theory. This however is exactly our case in India. Pâli—which, by the softness and melodiousness of its phonic system, and the simplified development of its grammatical forms, stands to Sanscrit in the same relation in which Italian stands to Latin,—is given out by many as the old language of India. The most ancient inscriptions are in Pâli, and it is the language of a great number of religious books containing the doctrine of Buddha. If other books of the same religion are written in Sanscrit, this Sanscrit shows evident traces of an artificial development, just as the Latin of the fourth and fifth century shows that it is no more the language spoken by the great mass of the people, but only employed as a learned and sacred language. Now, admitting even for argument sake, that all other internal proofs were wanting of the Christian doctrine having been addressed to people who had been living for centuries on the soil of Italy, having their own heathenish religion and their own old language, I think that the very fact that some of our religious books are written in an evidently learned language, while others are written in a spoken language, the whole grammar of which gets organically intelligible only by a reference to that learned language, would go far enough to prove that this learned idiom was at the time of early Christianity a dead or dying language, and must therefore have been a living one many centuries before. And if then good fortune should have preserved to us the books written in Latin, but in a Latin like that of Ennius and Plautus—in a language full of life, of individuality and organic irregularity, which is as far from the ecclesiastic Latin as the language of Plautus from the Latin of schoolboys; if this should be the case—and it is exactly the case in India, when we substitute *Veda* for *Ennius* and *Purâna* for *Patres*—then, I think, a sound philosophy of language would not hesitate for a moment to admit the precedence of an old Latin as well as of the Sanscrit, merely on the ground of evidence lying in the language itself.

Although, therefore, I admit that some questions may still be to be answered and some doubts to be removed concerning the relation of Buddhism to Brahminism and of Pâli to Sanscrit, yet I think that by the latest researches of Indian scholars like Wilson, Burnouf and Lassen, it has been established that the Brahminical people have brought at an early period the light of civilization into the plains of India; that their language was the language of the nation, though varying in different popular dialects; that their religion constituted the groundwork of the Indian worship, though modified by local traditions; that their laws and manners formed the social ties of the Indian world, though often in struggle with heterogeneous elements.

But nevertheless new efforts have been made to prove, on the very ground of language, that the present nations of India are to be considered as altogether free and emancipated from Brahminical influence. For if language constitutes the spirit of a nation, and if the spirit of a language lies in its grammatical system, it would certainly be a startling fact, if it could be proved, that the whole grammatical system of the modern languages of India has nothing to do with Sanscrit grammar. And this they have tried to prove, taking for their base the opinions of comparative philologists, who have admitted that the whole system of declension and conjugation in Bengali and the other Indian dialects is unexplainable by the rules

of Sanscrit grammar. (Schleiermacher) for instance, in his 'Essay on the Influence of Writing on the Language,' says:—"Or c'est une question de savoir si jamais le peuple du Bengale, descendu probablement de ces habitans primitifs, s'appropriât entièrement le Sanscrit, ou bien s'il ne se formât pas dès le commencement de son assujettissement à des étrangers plus civilisés que lui, une langue plus semblable à son idiome actuel qu'au Sanscrit, en supprimant les formes grammaticales trop difficiles de celui-ci et n'adoptant que les mots. On ne peut pas prétendre qu'il est invraisemblable, qu'un peuple tout entier ait accepté l'idiome de quelques prêtres et guerriers ; car nous avons vu cela s'effectuer au royaume d'Assam, qui dans les temps anciens doit avoir fait partie des pays Hindous. Cependant plus tard on y a eu jusqu'au commencement du dix-septième siècle une langue, des livres et des institutions semblables à celles des pays au-delà du Gange ; mais alors les Brahmans s'introduisirent dans ce pays, y répandirent leurs doctrines, convertirent le roi, et bientôt un dialecte Bengale remplaça l'ancien idiome, de sorte que celui-ci appartient maintenant presque entièrement aux langues mortes."

Now one must admit, that if such a fact could be proved, that the grammatical elements of the Bengali are not originally Sanscritic, but belong to another system of languages, this would change entirely the view which we have taken of the ethnographic and linguistic relations of the inhabitants of India, and bring on the same confusion as if it could be proved that the grammatical system of the modern Persian was not of an Iranian character, or that the English language was not of a Teutonic origin. For why do we call the English language a Teutonic one, if not because the Saxons, settling in Britain, did not change the grammatical character of their language, although they adopted many words from the Celtic nation which they subdued ? And why do we not say, that after the Norman conquest the language of England became a Norman language, if not because, though overgrown with Norman words, it preserved its own grammatical system ? Why are the Romance called Romance, and the Teutonic, Teutonic languages ? Because the Teutonic race, when brought into contact with Roman civilization and language, found in its strongly developed nationality sufficient strength to appropriate and incorporate into its language a great number of Latin words, without giving up the essentially Teutonic form of its grammar, while the Celtic nations yielded to the overpowering influence of the Roman civilization, and adopted not only the substantial but also the formative element of the Latin language, thus giving rise to new languages, which cannot be considered as Celtic idioms, but as branches of the Latin language, modified and developed by Celtic elements.

Looking then from this point of view at the question about the origin of the grammatical forms in the modern Indian languages, I thought it necessary to take this subject into serious consideration. I was convinced that it would be possible, either to account for the heterogeneous influence which has been acting upon the languages of the Indian nations, or to find a connecting link between the grammar of the old and modern Indian dialects. The results of my inquiry I have laid down in a Comparative Grammar of the Bengali Language, and I shall quote thence a few points in answer to a theory which has been proposed in regard to the grammatical structure of the Bengali language by the (Rev. Dr. Stevenson), whose extensive knowledge of dialects spoken in India, which he had the opportunity of studying on the spot, entitled his views to great attention and careful examination.

I quite agree with Dr. Stevenson in the manner in which he tries to prove that there existed in India an aboriginal language different from the

Sanskrit and its dialects, by showing that there are many words in common use, especially in the languages of Southern India, that cannot, after making every allowance for corruption, be derived from the Brahminical tongue. He alleges that there are a great many of the words derived from the Sanscrit which are used only by Brahmins, while others of the same meaning, but of a different origin, are constantly substituted by the common people. He further observes that there are several Sanscrit letters which are never introduced into the spoken languages of India, or which, if introduced, none but Brahmins can pronounce. Innumerable combinations of letters are uniformly deprived of one of their members, or have a vowel interposed between the two consonants; and in the south of India several letters are used that are not found in Sanscrit. Starting from these observations, Dr. Stevenson further proves that these elements, which enter so largely into the spoken languages of India, cannot be considered as used at random in every particular province, but that they are the same, or nearly so, in all the different spoken languages in India. If we can trace, he says, a language wholly different from the Sanscrit in all the modern dialects, the northern as well as the southern, after separating also the easily recognised importations by the Mahomedan conquerors of India, it will seem to follow that the whole region previous to the arrival of the Brahmins was peopled by the members of one great family of a different origin. That family may have been divided into different branches; one of these may have preceded the other in their migrations, yet oneness of language would seem to point to oneness of origin, especially since both history and tradition are silent as to any wide-spread influence exercised in ancient times by any foreign tribe, except the Brahminical. Dr. Stevenson calls the Brahmins a foreign tribe, in accordance with indications derivable from the cast of their features and the colour of their skin, as well as from their possessing a language which none of the natives of India but themselves can even so much as pronounce; and the constant current of their own traditions, making them foreign to the whole of India, except perhaps a small district to the north-west of the Ganges. Even in the time of Manu, the whole country to the south of the Vindhya mountains and Nerbudda river was inhabited by men who did not submit themselves to the Brahminical institutions, and among whom he advises that no Brahmin should go to reside.

So far as these premises go, I quite agree with Dr. Stevenson; and it is even commonly admitted that the Brahminical religion and civilization were brought into India from without. Professor Wilson has ingeniously treated this question in his translation of the Vishnupurana, where he comes to the conclusion, that the earliest seat of the Hindús within the confines of Hindusthán was undoubtedly the eastern confines of the Panjáb, and that the holy land of Manu and the Purans lies between the *Drishadvatí* and *Sarasvatí* rivers, the Caggar and Sursooty of our barbarous maps. Various adventures of the first princes and the most famous sages occur in this vicinity; and the *Asramás*, or religious domiciles of several of the latter, are placed on the banks of the *Sarasvatí*. According to some authorities, it was the abode of Vyása, the compiler of the Vedas and Puráns.

But in the Veda itself there are many facts which, according to my opinion, put it beyond all doubt that the Brahminical people was of an Arian origin, who, from Iran, the birth-place of their language, religion and civilization, immigrated into India. I hope that this point, as well as many others in the ancient history of the Brahminical people, will receive a new light by the publication of the Veda. That a knowledge

of the sacred writings of the Hindús is indispensable for a true appreciation of the whole intellectual development of this people, everybody admits, for the Veda bears the same relation to Indian antiquities as the Old Testament to the Jewish, the New Testament to the Christian, and the Korán to the Mahomedan history. The religion, worship and manners, poetry and philosophy of the Hindús, derive their source in common from the Veda, the monument of a religion, which, by its origin, belongs to the most ancient, and by its effects to the most important of all the Religions with which Divine Providence decreed to begin the great work of the education of the human race. It has often been regretted, that while so many editions of dramatic works like *Sakontala*, of codes of law like *Manu*, of philosophical systems like the *Veddanta*, have been published, almost nothing has yet been done for the Veda. Colebrooke's excellent article on the Vedas, or the sacred writings of the Hindus, remained for a long time our only source of information upon this subject, and it is possible that the opinions of this learned orientalist, while they excited a great degree of interest, discouraged at the same time further inquiries. Colebrooke, who is the first authority on Indian literature, says at the end of his essay, "The ancient dialect in which the Vedas are composed, and especially that of the three first Vedas, is extremely difficult and obscure; and though curious, as the parent of a more polished and refined language (the classical Sanscrit), its difficulties must long continue to prevent such an examination of the whole Vedas as would be requisite for extracting all that is remarkable and important in those voluminous works."

But Dr. Rosen, convinced of the necessity of arriving at a complete knowledge and perfect understanding of the Vedas, undertook to prepare an edition of the whole *Rigveda*, and thus withdraw those manuscripts from that obscurity to which they might otherwise have been consigned for a much longer time in the libraries of England. The *Rigveda* is doubtless the most important of the Vedas, because it presents to us the old poems in their original form, and as they were conceived by the old inspired Rishis; while the other two, the *Sáma* and *Yajurveda*, contain only isolated fragments of similar poems, digested and amplified in accordance to the requirements of the Indian ceremonial. As to the fourth, the *Atharvaveda*, it belongs to a posterior period, and contains also for a great part hymns of the *Rigveda*. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that the premature death of Dr. Rosen interrupted this meritorious undertaking, when scarcely the first of the ten books of the *Rigveda* was printed. Afterwards it was more the result of circumstances than the fault of Sanscrit scholars, that an edition of this work has remained till now uncontinued. I am happy however to announce on this public occasion, that all the material difficulties of such an undertaking have now been removed by the liberality of the Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company, who have but recently, upon the recommendation of our distinguished president, granted a considerable sum for the publication of this work, and have enabled me to realize a plan for which I had collected during several years all the materials which are to be found in the public and private libraries of Germany, France and England, without seeing any chance of printing so voluminous a work. This very day the first sheet of the text and commentary of the *Rigveda* has issued from the University press of Oxford, and I have the pleasure of laying before the committee the first copies of it.

In the hymns of the *Rigveda*, as I just mentioned, we see the Brahminical tribes advancing step by step along the rivers of the *Panjáb* into the

plains of the *Holy Land* (*Brahma-varta*) ; we see them at war with mighty kings, and often engaged in hostilities with each other, each immigrating tribe pushing their predecessors successively more and more down to the south. Afterwards we see in the descriptions given in the (*Rámáyana*, *Manu* and the *Mahábárata*) how the frontiers of *Brakmavarta* grow successively wider and wider. The two great royal dynasties of ancient India, the *Solar* and the *Lunar* race, the heroes of which are celebrated in the two epic poems the *Rámáyana* and *Máhabhárata*, were settled in *Ayodhya* and *Pratishthána*, that is in the country tributary to the holy river *Ganges*, which is mentioned but occasionally in the *Veda*; and finally, *Brahma-varta* is bounded on the west and the east, not by the rivers *Drishadvati* and *Sarasvati*, but by the ocean; and on the north and south by the mountains of the *Himálaya* and *Vindhya*.

The Arian tribes however remained united by their common origin, by the ties of religion and of their sacred language. It is a curious fact that the ancient name given to this language by the Brahmins themselves is *chandas*, which means rhythmical language, *chandas* being derived from the root *chhand*, to praise, which corresponds to the Latin *scandere*, as Sanscrit *chhid*, to cut, to the Latin *scindere*. The primitive form of this Indo-Germanic root is in Sanscrit also *skand*, meaning to go, to stride, so that *chandas* would originally signify either poetry accompanied by dance, taken in the ancient Pindaric sense, or any poetical effusion, as if striding along in grave and majestic measures.

It is very likely that the name of the sacred language of the old Medians and Persians, the *Zend*, for which no satisfactory etymology has yet been found, has the same origin and meaning, a fact which would be in accordance not only with many peculiarities of the Vedic language, which, deviating from the classical Sanscrit, are frequently to be traced in *Zend*, but also with the general features of the religion of these two people, which clearly point to a common source.

But although the Arian conquerors seem to have crushed and extinguished the great mass of the aboriginal inhabitants in the north of India, yet some of these Autochthones, or early inhabitants of India, who were considered by the Brahmins as impure and unworthy to partake of their religious sacrifices, found a refuge in the thick forests of the mountainous districts, and in the countries south of the *Vindhya* range, while it is not unlikely that some of them were tolerated by the Brahmins, so as to remain in a state of slavery, constituting the class of *Súdras*, to whom, though they were not considered as twice-born, like the three other classes, some few civil rights were conceded, and to whom in latter days even a Brahminical origin was attributed.

Now, I think it is very easy to understand how it came to pass, that in Sanscrit as well as in the modern dialects spoken in the north of India, we find a great many words, especially those expressive of the common relations of life, and denoting objects with which men in an imperfect state of civilization are acquainted, which cannot be derived from Sanscrit roots, and which are the same in the languages of the north, in the languages of some forest tribes living in the mountainous boundary districts, and in the languages of the people in the south of India. In the same way we find no difficulty in accounting for the presence of many Sanscrit words in the languages of the south, for it is quite clear that it is owing to the literary influence which the Sanscrit exercised in the north as well as in the south, that words expressing ideas, connected with a higher state of civilization,

have been adopted by those dialects. I shall abstain at present from entering into any discussion upon the origin of those words which do not belong to the Indo-Germanic family, and of which Dr. Stevenson has given some comparative lists, tracing analogies in the *Mongolian*, *Celtic* and *Hebrew* tongues. I do not think that the affinity of different languages in any country can be proved by a mere comparison of similar words, and it seems to me that by producing analogies from languages so different as Hebrew, Celtic and Mongolian, one proves nothing by proving too much.

We must have studied the individuality of different languages, we must have acquired an intimate knowledge of the particular distinguishing character of each of them, we must have entered into the spirit of every idiom, and have acquired a kind of feeling so as to be able to identify ourselves with the languages of other people, before we can venture to decide upon analogies which may exist between them. Afterwards it makes no difference whether these analogies consist in words or in terminations of words, whether they be etymological or grammatical analogies, provided that the one and the other be based, not upon the mere sound, but upon the organization of the words. It is on that account that I must declare myself decidedly, as far as the Bengali is concerned, against Dr. Stevenson's theory. Dr. Stevenson says that there exists a great resemblance in the grammatical structure of the chief modern languages in the north and in the south of India, proofs of which he produces from the Hindi, Bengali, Gujerathi, Marathi on the one side, and from Telugu, Carnatica, Tamil and Singhalese on the other. Supposing that for none of these characteristic points they are indebted to the Sanscrit, he thinks it impossible to account for such a similarity of grammatical structure in languages, spoken by people having so little intercourse with one another, as, according to his opinion, the Hindu inhabitants of the north and south of India have had, unless we suppose it to arise from their all being originally of one family, and possessing one primitive language, the grammatical system of which may be in some measure gathered from these their points of agreement. Dr. Stevenson admits however that Brahminical influence has modified the grammatical structure, and introduced into the northern languages some affixes for those in former use, especially in the inflexion of nouns, but he says that the general structure of all has remained unaffected, and that upon the whole there is more agreement in the construction with the *Turkish* than with the Sanscrit, so that he thinks it likely that the original language of India may be the connecting link between what the Germans have called the Indo-Germanic family and the Turkish family of languages.

Now the whole question, as far as I can see, rests upon these two points : Is it likely or not that the northern languages of India, which are so much connected with the Sanscrit, that while the Bengali and Hindi, which probably contain the most, have nine-tenths of their vocables of Sanscrit origin, and while even the Marathi, which, according to Dr. Stevenson's estimation, contains the fewest, has at least four-fifths of its words derived from the same source, the same languages should have derived their inflectional suffixes from an aboriginal language, which exercised so little influence upon those modern dialects, that proofs of its very existence can only be gathered from some few words, which, denoting things connected with the daily occupations of the working classes, were likely to remain in the mouth of the people, and to get by this way introduced into the language of the higher classes? Dr. Stevenson himself admits that the Brahminical influence *has* modified the grammatical struc-

ture, and has introduced, as he says, into the northern languages some affixes for those in former use. In admitting this, however, he admits more than he seems aware of. For we very seldom, or rather never find that a people, though receiving a great number of foreign words into the dictionary of its language, have adopted at the same time a foreign grammatical system, so that the mere fact, that one part of the grammar of the northern languages is evidently of Sanscrit origin, would seem to speak by itself very much in favour of admitting the same for the other part.

But then the chief point is to consider, whether the instances brought forward as unexplainable by the rules of Sanscrit grammar and by the principles of the general structure of the Indo-Germanic languages, may not be found to be formed by grammatical elements which have been similarly used by the Arian languages, particularly by their modern representatives. And this I think I am able to do for every grammatical form which Dr. Stevenson has pointed out as non-Sanscritical or Turkish, because he found it not exactly the same as in the old and classical Sanscrit, while a comparison of the modern development, which other Indo-Germanic languages have taken, will clearly show the analogies existing between the changes which the Indian language has experienced in the course of two thousand years and those known in other branches of the Indo-Germanic family.

It may be remembered that at present I meditate only a vindication of the Bengali language, which, if successful, will perhaps throw some light also upon the other northern dialects. As far as the southern languages are concerned, I abstain from giving any decided opinion, and shall content myself with noticing some coincidences between them and the dialects of the north.

Beginning with the declensions, Dr. Stevenson remarks, that these eight languages (viz. Bengali, Hindi, Gujarathi, Marathi, Telugu, Carnatica, Tamil and Singhalese) are all deficient in the number of cases required to mark the different relations of nouns, and supply the deficiency by particles placed after the root or some of the cases.

This is a fact, which, far from being surprising, would have been anticipated by every one acquainted with the relation in which modern languages stand to their parent tongues. The original and expressive forms by which the old language of India formed its admirable system of declension, have in the course of centuries, and particularly during the lapse of an illiterate middle age, lost their pure form and their distinctive power. But the Indian language found in itself the principle and elements of a new life, and we find it again at the period of its regeneration in the possession of richer and more powerful means than many of the modern languages of Europe can boast of. It is true that the dual of the Sanscrit language has entirely disappeared in Bengali, and that the nominative is the only case of the plural which has preserved an original form; but all the elements which have been substituted in order to form the number and cases of words are undoubtedly of Sanscrit origin; and we find sometimes the first traces of their grammatical employment in ancient works, and much more in the modern books, and especially in those of the Buddhistic collection.

The same is to be said of the gender of substantives and adjectives. The substantives, adjectives, pronouns and verbs have no different forms in Bengali for the masculine, feminine and neuter; and we meet only with some feminine terminations in certain cases, where it was necessary to distinguish the two genders, as *vágh*, a tiger; *vágkí*, a tigress; *khudá*, uncle; *khudi*, aunt. The changes of the final letter which take place in these words are entirely founded on the rules of Sanscrit grammar, only that they have been sub-

jected to the influence of the historical progress of the Indian language. Sometimes the feminine is also expressed by composition, just as we say, a she-goat, a French-woman, while in French and German the feminine is expressed by the mere change of the final letter. Thus the Bengali say, *sasaru*, a hare; *strisasaru*, a female hare; *inréj*, an Englishman; *inréjér méyé*, an English woman; *meyé* being the Sanscrit word *mdyá*, which means illusion, deception, or according to the notions of India, woman, and in a philosophical sense the female magic power, or the whole apparent world, which exists as long as the eternal soul looks upon it as existent, but vanishes as soon as the great Self returns to itself and gets free from the passion of worldly existence.

As to the single cases of declension, Dr. Stevenson further remarks, that there are several striking analogies running through most of these languages in the letters that characterise the principal cases. Thus the letter *n* is a very general characteristic of the genitive singular. It enters into the Gujerathi common genitive *no, ni, num*; the ancient Marathi genitive *chéni*, now usually contracted into *chi* and into the Tamil *in*; in all of which it runs through all the declensions. It is found also in the *ni* of the first of the three declensions in Telugu, and in the *ana* and *ina* of the first and fourth of the four Canarese declensions. It is singular, Dr. Stevenson remarks, that in the Turkish the termination of the genitive *ung* should afford so near a parallel to the above, and that we should have the remains of such a genitive in *mine* and *thine*, and the Germans in *mein, dein, sein*.

Although upon this point the Bengali is left quite unmentioned, because its genitive in *r* is of too clear a Sanscrit origin, yet I must say a few words upon the *n*, as the sign of the genitive case in the languages quoted by Dr. Stevenson. Gothic forms like *meina, theina, seina*, are certainly puzzling at first sight, not however so much as for it to be necessary to assign a Turkish origin to them. It can easily be seen that the genitive has often, as far as the sense is concerned, the function of an adjective, so that phrases like "the work of the day," "the tribes of the mountains," may be expressed by "the daily work," "the mountainous tribes." It is also generally admitted that some genitive formations in the Indo-Germanic languages have preserved a close affinity to the formations of adjectives, with the only difference that the latter have different terminations for gender, number and cases, and could therefore be declined again like substantives. In some Indian dialects, as for instance the Hindi, we find even genitives with different terminations for the different genders. I do not say however that either the adjective has been derived from the genitive, or the genitive from the adjective, but I only maintain that the principle of their formation has been the same. Now it is known that the suffix *na* is of very frequent occurrence for the derivation of adjectives, and I have therefore little doubt that forms like the Gothic *meina* (bearing some analogy to the Zend *mana*) ought to be considered as adjectival formations; just as in Greek and Latin, *ἐμός, σός* for *ἐμοῦ, σοῦ, meus* and *tuus* for *mei* and *tui*. We may observe in Sanscrit also how the nasal sound *n* extends its influence in forming new bases to which the regular terminations of the cases are added, a fact which, particularly in reference to verbal formations, has been profoundly illustrated by Professor Lepsius. I feel therefore inclined to consider the nasal sound in all the instances quoted by Dr. Stevenson as an augment of the inflectional base, while the final vowel in some of his quotations may have the power of the genitive termination.

For the termination *ke*, used for the dative and accusative in Bengali, Dr. Stevenson brings forward the following analogies: *ko* in Hindi, *ku* in Telugu, *gai* in Singhalese, and *gya* or *ge* in Tibetan. He supposes this termination to take its origin from the Marathi dative, *lägi*, derived from the verb *lägane*, to come in contact with, by changing the vowel, sharpening the consonant, and omitting the first syllable *lä*, which syllable serves again as the sign of the dative in other Indian languages. Even if we admitted this derivation to be true, the word *lägane* is a well-known Sanscrit root, which Dr. Stevenson is very well aware of. But how fond he is of the autochthonical origin of these forms, we may see from the following remark of his: that this word *lägi* itself, he says, may be derived from the Sanscrit is no objection whatever; for it may have been derived from a root common to many languages, and be just as independent of the Brahminical tongue as our own word *lug*.

There are two methods of accounting for grammatical elements which occur in modern languages. The one may be called the *linguistical*, the other the *historical*. The former consists in pointing out analogies between the form and meaning of inflectional elements in different languages of the same family. This method has generally been adopted and carried out successfully by Prof. Bopp and his school. It is indeed the only possible method in comparing the grammatical forms of languages which historically and geographically stand so far the one from the other, as for instance, the German from the Sanscrit. In comparative researches of this kind it is only required to trace analogies in the form and character of the elements, which constitute the grammar of a language, and to show etymologically the origin and the development of these grammatical forms. Whether the one language be anterior in its formation, and whether there existed a historical connection between them, is a question which originally has nothing to do with these linguistic inquiries.

The case however becomes different when we compare languages, the historical progress of which we can follow through certain periods. Here it becomes necessary to give to comparative inquiries as much as possible a historical character, by trying to explain modern grammatical forms by elements, which were used, though in a different way, by the same language in its anterior state, and to show if possible the period of transition from the one to the other. Thus in a comparative analysis of the modern Persian grammar it would be necessary first of all to have recourse to the previous forms under which the Persian language appears to us at certain historical periods, and only in the case that neither the grammar of the Pazend and the Pehlevi, nor that of the Achaemenidian or Zend language furnishes the key for the grammatical forms of the modern Persian, it would be of interest to look for analogies in other kindred languages. For it is certainly true, though difficult to account for, that in several cases, where a historical connection exists between two languages, it is notwithstanding impossible to explain the grammatical forms of the one by those of the other, while languages, distant in time and place, afford the most unmistakeable analogies. Although then we prefer, when an opportunity is given, the historical method, yet we must admit even for languages, which have a historical growth, like the Bengali, the New Persian, the New German, &c., the right of the merely linguistic method, and I choose the present case, the question about the origin of the syllable *ke*, as sign of the accusative, as an opportunity for contrasting the relative merit of these two methods.

Even from a linguistic point of view it is difficult to find an analogy be-

tween the formation of the accusative in the Indo-Germanic languages and in Bengali. An accusative formed by means of a syllable like *ke*, seems to be quite foreign to the genius of these languages. The resemblance which is found in the Gothic and Anglo-Saxon declension, in which there is a *k* for the accusative termination of personal pronouns, is not admissible, because the origin of this termination is founded on linguistical rules, so essentially Germanic, that it is not possible to apply the same rules to an Indian dialect. There is however some utility to be drawn from this comparison, for we see that Gothic accusatives (*mi-k=me*, *thu-k=te*, *si-k=se*) are derived from their pronominal roots by means of the same particle as the datives (*mi-s=mihi*, *thu-s=tibi*); and we find in the syllable *sma*, from which the *k* of the accusative and the *s* of the dative are both derived, a termination not restricted, like other terminations, to the accusative only, but serving, by means of its general and extended signification, to express, like the *rā* in Pehlevi and New Persian, at the same time both the accusative and the dative. We believe therefore that the Bengali *ke* is not to be considered as implying the relation usually represented by the accusative or dative, but as a particle of purely demonstrative power. As to analogy in other languages, Latin forms, as *hi-c*, *hui-c*, *hun-c*, *tun-c*, &c., may be quoted where the final *c* is the same as that we see repeated in forms like *hi-c-ce*, *hun-c-ce*, &c., serving to enhance the demonstrative signification. According to the theory of Prof. Bopp (Comparat. Grammar, § 305), this *ce* must be considered as an indefinite particle, or rather as a particle, which, compounded with an interrogative pronoun, takes away its interrogative power and changes the interrogative into an indefinite pronoun. The same savant traces this particle through different languages, such as Sanscr. *ci-t* (*kaçcit*, some one), *ca-na* (*kaçcana*, any one), Dor. *ká* (*noká*, once), Ion. *ré* (*noré*), Lat. *que* (*quisque*), *quam* (*quisquam*), *ce* (*hic* and *hicce*), *pe* (*quippe*), *piam* (*quispiam*), Goth. *uh* (*hvazuh*).

But it seems necessary that a distinction should be made between two particles, which under a similar form have played very different parts in the progress of languages. The one, almost the same as the copulative particle (*ca*, *ré*, *que*), serves, in generalizing, and to form from the root of the interrogative, an indefinite pronoun, when the other gives a determinate form. We recognise the former in words like *kaçcit*, *kaçcana*, *noká*, *noré*, *quisque*, *quisquam* (always in negative phrases like Sanscrit *kaçcana*), *quispiam*, *hvazuh*, (Modern German *wasauch*). Adopting the system, which as far as I know has first been introduced by the ingenious G. Curtius of Berlin, this change of letters in Sanscrit, Greek and Latin may be represented in the following equation: *pafica*, *névre*, *quinque=ca*, *re*, *que*. Sanscrit *cit* and Latin *quam* are enlargements of the same particle, as *quispiam*, which corresponds to Sanscrit *kasapi*, regularly changed into *ko'pi*. But we cannot believe with Prof. Bopp that the same particle, which by its peculiar power gives to interrogative pronouns an indefinite signification, has given rise to the demonstrative pronoun *hic*, by being compounded with the Sanscrit interrogative pronoun *ka* and *ki*. Besides, as Professor Bopp acknowledges that in *hic-ce*, *hunc-ce*, &c. the latter *ce* is the repetition of the same element, we find already combined with the pronoun (*hi-c*), and as the genius of the Latin language does not permit a doubt on the purely demonstrative meaning of this particle, we do not think that it is altogether contrary to the system of this learned grammarian, to consider *ce* as a determinative particle, different from the other and identical with the Greek *γέ* and the Bengali *ke*.

But though from a linguistical point of view we might admit the Bengali termination *ke* to have its origin in this demonstrative particle, it is still the

question whether a comparison of languages, historically connected with the Bengali, might not furnish a more satisfactory solution. In the first case, we must remember that in Bengali itself *ke* is very often omitted, and that the accusative is represented by the same form as the nominative, when the whole structure of the sentence shows that the substantive, dependent upon a verb, is to be taken as its object and therefore as an accusative. Besides, *ke* is not so much to be considered as the termination of an accusative, but rather as that of an objective case, because it is frequently used to represent the dative also, as *Hari bahudhan Haridâske dilem* (Hari gave much money to Haridâs). Nor is it, like the other terminations *r*, *te*, *râ*, added to the secondary form of a substantive (*manushye-r*, *manushye-te*, *manushye-rd*), but to the absolute form (*manushya-ke*, *purush-ke*). Now if we go back to Sanscrit, particularly in its more modern form, and to the Pracrit dialects, we may observe a great tendency of the language to put the suffix *ka* at the end of many words without changing considerably their meaning. It is true that in some cases the affix *ka* serves to express contempt, pity, &c., but generally the meaning of the word remains the same, only assuming a more concrete, objective or neuter character. Thus *lohitaka* means read, *lohitaka*, a ruby, *vâc* is speech, *vâcikam*, a delivered speech or discourse. There exists a close relation, logically as well as grammatically, between the neuter in its nominative and accusative and the accusative of the masculine. The accusative represents the substantive, which is active and independent, if expressed in the nominative, as a passive object, and we may account thereby why in many cases the same grammatical element, which serves to express the neuter gender, has been employed for expressing the objective case of the masculine, as *am* in Sanscrit, *um* in Latin, *ov* in Greek. If then the affix *ka* has already in Sanscrit the signification which we have just explained, it might seem well-adapted for words which by their relation to other words convey the meaning of passive objectivity. Although therefore this particle may not have become, neither in Sanscrit nor in Pracrit, the mere conventional sign of the accusative case, yet its analogous use gets so extensive in Pracrit, and particularly in the Câkkari dialect, that we have sufficient reason for tracing the Bengali *ke* historically back to the Sanscrit and Pracrit *ka*.

The termination of the ablative also, which is *te* in Bengali and Maratjî, *ta* in Pushtoo and in Singhalese, and which Dr. Stevenson considers therefore as a remnant of the language of the aboriginal Hindûs, is certainly of Sanscrit origin. In Bengali *te* is at the same time the termination of the ablative and the locative. Besides, there is still another more Sanscritic termination in *e*, for the locative of words ending in a consonant or the vowel *a*. The same form is, by a false analogy, employed also for words which end in other vowels, such as *râtre* (at night), instead of *râtrite* or *râtrikâle*. The termination *te*, if employed as the sign of the dative, corresponds to the Sanscrit termination *tra*. The change of *tra* into *te* is justified by the aversion for all harsh sounds and double consonants which we frequently find in modern languages. Thus Professor Bopp derives ingeniously the Greek *oe* in *âllooœt*, &c., from Sanscrit *tra*, supposing the suppression of *r* and the usual transition of *t* into *s*. The same suppression of the *r* takes place in Bengali, where the short *a*, as usually at the end of words derived from Sanscrit, is changed into *e*.

The termination *te*, if used as the sign of the ablative, represents the Sanscrit suffix *tas*; and the change of *tas* into *te* appears even more regular, when we remember that the Pali and Pracrit languages suppress equally the final *s*. Instead of changing the *a* into *o*, as in the case of these dialects and

in some cases of the Sanscrit itself, the Bengali has preferred as usual the final *e*, approaching thereby very nearly to the Latin, which has preserved the same suffix in words like *inde*, *unde*, &c.

In the nominative singular, a form in *e* occurs instead of the regular terminations; as *Vede kohen* (the Veda, says); *mânike=mânîk* (ruby); *gopâle=gopâl* (cow-herd). The same *e* is added also to words ending in *â*, but then it must be changed to *y*; as *râjây=râjâ* (king); *pitây=pitâ* (father).

Although these forms of the nominative may imply sometimes a contemporaneous idea, yet they had not originally this power, but must be considered as having retained the primitive form, corresponding with the termination *o* in *Pracrit* and *Pali*. It is of importance to remark that the Bengali, having suppressed the final *s* of the ancient Sanscrit termination, has not lost, at the same time, the short *a*, and that instead of changing it into *o*, like the *Pracrit* and *Pali*, it shows a decided predilection for a final *e*, bearing thereby a close resemblance to the old Çâkkarí dialect. As to the forms *pitây*, *râjây*, &c., where the final *y* replaces an *e*, it is true that this is in no way founded on either *Sanscrit* or *Pracrit*, but in comparing modern languages with the ancient idioms whence they have arisen, we may often see that by a false analogy, certain common forms are adopted even for words, to which, owing to their different origin, they would seem irreconcilable. What speaks the most clearly in favour of our regarding this *e*, as a relic of the Sanscrit *a*, in the nominative as well as in the genitive, ablative and locative, is, that the adjectives of pure Bengali origin do not admit this *e* either in the nominative or in the other cases. Sometimes *e* is used also instead of *erâ* in the *nom. plur.*, as *sakale se kathâ kahila* (all said this word); *aneke tâhâ jâne* (many know that). In this case too I rather incline to consider *e* as the remnant of the ancient plural termination than to take it for the sign of the locative case, as Dr. Yates suggests, particularly as he observes that in good Bengali it is only used in adjectives which indicate a number, when the noun is merely understood; as *sakale*, *aneke*, &c., where we find *e* as the termination of the plural already in Sanscrit.

The termination of the nominative plural is *â*, as in *Pali* and *Pracrit*, but as this case always occurs under the form of *râ* or *erâ* (*guru-râ*, *manushye-râ*), one might suppose that there is in it a repetition of the Sanscrit termination, as in the Vedical forms *stomásas*. It seems nevertheless more probable that the Bengalis, perceiving all the forms of the plural derived from a root in *ér*, *i. e.* of the genitive singular, compounded with the word *dig*, have taken this genitive for the base of the plural, and have added to it the primitive sign of the nominative plural, *â*.

The most singular and at first sight barbarous feature of the Bengali declension, is its formation of the plural of masculine nouns by means of the syllable *dik*, to which the terminations of the cases in the singular are added. Though I am not quite confident as to the origin of this grammatical element, yet I venture to propose a theory, which perhaps may not prove quite unsatisfactory.

Dig signifies, in Sanscrit, a climate, and in the plural it is taken for the whole world. In this sense we find *digvijayî*, he who has conquered the four regions, or all the countries which lie between the N. S. E. W., *i. e.* all the world and all mankind. It is true that the word *dîcâh* had not yet been used in Sanscrit in the sense of all the world, or mankind in general, but we find, nevertheless, an analogy in the word *loka*, the first signification of which is the world, and synonymous with *dig*; as, for instance, *loka-pâla=dik-pâla*, the master of the world. The same word by metaphor comes to mean men.

Thus, *loka-vicrūta*, celebrated in the world, *i. e.* among men; *loka-vikrushṭa*, despised by the world, *i. e.* by men. One can even say *strīloka*, meaning the world of women, *i. e.* womankind in general. I consider then the formation of the plural by means of *dig* as based on the same connexion of ideas, and this would account at the same time why the Bengalis generally use this form of the plural for reasonable beings only, as *pandit digete*, in the learned world; while words like *gāna*, a number, *jāti*, a tribe, *dal*, a band, *varga*, a class, are used promiscuously for animate and inanimate beings.

The two suffixes *ṭā* and *ṭi* are often found at the end of substantives of the numeral pronouns; *ṭā* added to the names of living beings indicates indifference or contempt: *ekaṭā kukur* or *kukurṭā*, a dog; *ekaṭā manushya* or *manushyāṭā*, a mannikin, the mob. The same suffix added to the names of things gives an idea of magnitude, *ekaṭā ghar* or *gharṭā*, a great house. The suffix *ṭi* expresses in similar cases affection or pity in the case of living beings, and contempt in that of things: *ekaṭi bdlak* or *bdlakṭi*, a little child, a darling; *ekḍti tokd*, *tokdṭi*, a very small sum, a stiver, a mite.

It would be difficult to give an explanation of the true meaning of these suffixes, if we did not sometimes find the dental *t* in the place of the lingual *ṭ*. Now the cerebrals are pronounced in Bengali as the dentals are in Sanscrit. It is therefore probable that *ṭā* and *ṭi* are the same suffixes by means of which collective and abstract nouns are formed in Sanscrit. At the same time it is to be remarked, that in many modern languages the suffixes, destined to form abstract and collective names, give sometimes to these words an additional meaning, just in the same manner as the suffixes *ṭā* and *ṭi*; as, in English, woman and womankind, governors and government; and still more in French words, like *loger*, *logis*, *logement*, *les bourgeois*, *la bourgeoisie*, *le peuple*, *la populace*. We must also remark that in Bengali these different shades of meaning almost always depend on the character of the whole phrase, and that, generally, for instance, *ekaṭā balḍk* means only a child, *ekaṭā ghar*, a house; while, on the other hand, *balakṭā*, *gharṭā*, have the more definite meaning of 'the child,' 'the house.'

The most important point, however, of the Bengali is what we may call its secondary or periphrastic declension, which by the clearness of its origin allows us an interesting insight into the secret working of language, and gives us a key for many modern formations in kindred languages, where the original elements of these new formations are often obliterated and unexplainable. Although we have seen that in the singular there are some remains of the ancient forms in the locative, ablative and genitive, yet the language has lost the conscience of their true meaning, and they are made use of only in the most simple and distinct cases. In the modern language these suffixes have no longer sufficient power to perform the functions which they fulfilled in Sanscrit, and they have consequently been replaced by more expressive and more intelligible words. We must not, however, look upon these new formations in the light of arbitrary compositions, for, having become consecrated (*nitya*), these forms are regarded by the Bengalis as having the same value which the cases of the Sanscrit were considered to have by the ancient people who spoke it. As it may be of interest for the comparative study of modern languages, we give a list of the most usual forms of these secondary cases:—

1. *Kartrik* (expressing agency), *hetuk* (expressing cause) form the instrumental, ablative and dative. Thus, *īcvara-kartrik jagad sriṣṭa hāy*, the world is created by God, *i. e.* having God for the agent in its creation (Sanskrit, *īcvaraṇa* or *īvardi*); *dhanhetuk yatna karilek*, he exerts himself for

money, i. e. having money as the cause of his exertions. In Sanscrit the dative may be used, or a similar composition with the word *nimitta*, which occurs also in Bengali.

2. *Párvak* (expressing precedent) forms in like manner the instrumental. Thus *vinay párvak ukta hāj*, it is spoken politely, i. e. having before it politeness (Sanskrit, *vinayena*).

3. *Diyd* (having taken), *kariyā* (having done), form the instrumental; thus, *churi diyd tāhāke mārilek*, he struck him with a knife, or, having taken the knife; *churi diyd lekhānt prastut karilen*, he prepared the pen with the penknife.

4. *Sahit*, *sange*, *sāte* (accompanied, near), as *purush sahit*, with men; *dugher sahit jal miçrit kariyāche*, he has mixed water with milk; *tomār sange*, or *tomār sāte yādiva*, I shall go with you. In Sanscrit, particularly in its most ancient form, the termination of the instrumental is sufficient to express this meaning; as, *purushaih*, with men; *haribhīh*, with horses; afterwards *saha* or *sahita* is used with the instrumental to make the meaning more distinct, as *purushaih saha*.

5. *Haite* (from) is the most common sign for the ablative; as, *ghar haite nihsrīt*, gone out of the house (Sanskrit, *grīhdān nihsrītāh*); *kumbhakār haite ghat sakal nimir hāj*, the pots are made by the potter; *pītā putra haite balavān hāj*, the father is stronger than the son.

Notwithstanding the apparent difference of meaning, I think that *haite* is but a modern form of *sahita* (joined, with). The change of its signification (with, from) is analogous to that which similar words have undergone in other languages. Thus the English *by* means originally near (as "close by"), but it has lost this meaning almost entirely, and serves at present to form the ablative case. The same may be observed in French (*par*, *avec*) and German (*mit*); *rājār haite nihsrīt hāj*, would therefore signify, he comes from with the king (*d'avec le roi*); *kumbhakār haite ghat nimir hāj*, the pot has been made *by* the potter. What speaks most in favour of this etymology is, that also in other modern Indian dialects the ablative is formed on the same principle.

6. *Nikāt* and *nikāte* (near, in the neighbourhood). This word also serves, in accordance with its primitive meaning, to express several different relations at the same time. For instance, they say *rājār nikāt pāigā*, having received from the king, and *rājār nikāt gādiyā*, having gone to the king, i. e. near him.

Nikāta occurs in Sanscrit also in the sense of *near*, and as the cerebral *t* indicates often that the form in which it occurs is a contraction of another form, containing an *r*, I suppose *nikāta* to be derived from *nikarsha* or *nikriñṣṭa*, as *vikāta*, great, from *vikarsha* or *vikriñṣṭa*. Thus *taṭa* for *tarsha* or *triṣṭa* (dry ground) is derived from *triṣṭ*, to be dry or thirsty; *pāṭa*, a garment, from *paridhā*; *vaṭa*, a circle, from *vṛīta*; *bhaṭṭā* for *bhartā*, &c.

7. *Samipe* (in the neighbourhood) is used in the same manner as *nikāte*.

8. *Madhye* or *majhe* (Pali *madjhē*), in the midst, forms the locative; as, *hriday madhye*, in the heart. Sansc. *hrīdaye*.

9. *Kache* and *kachete* (in the neighbourhood), just as *nikāt*.

10. *Sthāne* or *sthāy* (at the place), forms the locative; as, *gharthāy*, in the house, or near the house.

11. *Dvārd* (by the door), by means of, forms the instrumental; as, *jñāna dvārd*, by knowledge. Sansc. *jñānena*. *haster dvārd tini mārilek*, he struck him with the hand.

12. *Rāp* is sometimes used to express the genitive in figurative language;

as, *mrityurdप raiju*, the cords of death, i. e. having the form of death; *gokarृप agni*, the fire of distress.

The use of these compounds is not so extensive in Sanscrit, but we nevertheless find already there the first traces of them even in ancient works, as for instance in Manu and even in the Veda; as, *atish्वान्तिनं अनिवेचनं नं कदश्वान्तिनं मध्ये निहितम् चारिराम् वृत्रस्या*, the body of Vṛitra (the cloud) thrown into the flowing and restless waters. In modern books, and especially in the Buddhistical works, this usage is very general, and particularly interesting as giving the key for the original meaning of many obscure abbreviations, which in the spoken dialects of India form the new system of declensions. As far as the declensions are concerned, I think then it will be admitted that the Bengali is nothing but a modern development of the Sanscrit language, and that though reduced to a state of great poverty in its grammatical formation, it has not borrowed the principles of a new life from the language of barbarous tribes.

Of the conjugation of the Bengali it would be still more difficult to prove a non-Sanscritical origin. In comparing the conjugations of the Bengali with those of the Sanscrit verbs, we are struck with the same phænomenon which presented itself to our notice when examining the declensions. The Sanscrit possesses ten distinct forms, whereby the verbal base is derived from the primitive root; and by its three voices, the active, passive and middle voice, offers to us a rich variety of terminations, destined to express every form of tense, mood and person. But, what at first sight is most strange, while those languages which have for centuries been exiled from their native lands have preserved even in the extreme north vivid proofs of their ancient wealth and originality, the Bengali, which has remained in its paternal soil, has degenerated more than almost any other of the Indo-Germanic languages. It is true that the Indian tongue may have felt itself wearied and oppressed by the abundance of forms produced at the first burst of its youth; it is true, that in divesting itself of these exuberances it was following but a wise economy, and by analytical expressions accommodating itself to the wants of ordinary life; but the primitive beauty of human speech, the happy harmony between the spirit and the form of the words was lost, and the wings of human thought were broken. There is in Bengali neither middle nor passive; the greater part of its tenses are formed by means of auxiliary verbs, and according to the common system of the Bengali grammarians, there are no longer even different forms in the plural and singular. But admitting all these differences between Sanscrit and Bengali, which, indeed, everybody would expect to exist to a certain amount between every ancient and modern language, I cannot see how a totally different origin of the Bengali language can be proved by differences like the following, which Dr. Stevenson quotes in proof of his theory:—

1. That the second person singular imperative is the root or shortest form in Bengali and the other languages, while this is the case with only about one-half the tenses in Sanscrit.
 2. That in Bengali the present tense contains the present participle as a constituent part of it followed by the substantive verb, as in our form, *I am reading*.
 3. That it uses an aorist, which denotes past, present and future time.
 4. That verbs are composed with the negative particle.
 5. That the past tense has no reduplication, and
 6. That the passive is formed in a peculiar manner.
- As to the first point, if I understand him right, his calculation is wrong.*

Except in the second, third, seventh and ninth class of Sanscrit verbs, and some ancient forms in the Veda, we find in all the other verbs the shortest form of the inflectional base in the second person singular imperative. These four classes however comprise only between 150 to 200 roots, while of the six other classes the first comprises alone about 1000 roots.

As to the second point, nobody denies that Bengali, as a modern language, employs periphrastical formations instead of the simpler forms of the ancient language; but when the form of the participle as well as of the auxiliary verb, are of Sanscrit origin, I do not see why their combination into a periphrastical form should point to a barbarous origin. That the Bengalis employ an aorist which denotes past, present and future time, is not at all extraordinary, since we see in many languages that when a new specific inflectional base has been assigned to the present and imperfect, the simple form represents generally the action of the verb only, without reference to any time, and is therefore called aorist.

As to the next point, the negative verb in Bengali has nothing irregular in its formation. By the addition of verbal terminations almost every word may become in modern languages a verbal base, and Dr. Stevenson must be aware, that like the negative verb *ndi*, I am not, from *nd*, not, there is also an affirmative verb, *vati*, I am indeed, from *vata*, indeed. The loss of the reduplicative syllable in the perfect is sufficiently accounted for by the same occurrence in almost all the modern, and even some of the ancient branches of the Indo-Germanic family; and in supposing an auxiliary verb like *didhale* to be the original form of the terminations of the past tense, like *da* or *ta*, Dr. Stevenson seems not to be aware of his quite being in accordance with Professor Bopp, only that the latter takes not the modern Marathi form, *dihale*, but the ancient and simple form *dha*.

An element, which might perhaps be called aristocratic, has exercised much influence in the personal terminations of the verb. The Bengali grammarians pretend that there are two sorts of terminations equally employed for the singular and plural. One sort convey a kind of respectful meaning, the other has a contemptuous sense. This distinction is so generally adopted, not only by the grammarians but also by those who have written in the language, that we do not dare to pursue any other method, although we are convinced that the forms which convey contempt are nothing else but the singular ones, while those which express respect are the plural. To explain this distribution of the ancient forms, it is not sufficient for us to have recourse to the analogy of modern languages, in some of which, in speaking with respect of persons, we may perceive that a sense of superiority has been often attributed to the plural; for the peculiarity of Bengali consists not so much in a verb in the plural being connected with a substantive in the singular, but that a verb in the singular is governed by a substantive in the plural. This peculiarity does not admit of explanation, except on the ground that Bengali, to speak correctly, has properly no plural in declensions except in the case of reasonable beings. It would therefore be impossible to employ a third person plural, when we are speaking of animals or of inanimate objects. We might say, the wise men think (think plural), but if we wished to express the idea 'that animals eat' (eat plural), we must say, the mass of animals eats (verbally, the animal-mass or animality eats); hence, in this way, the plural of the verb will always find itself united with the names of superior beings, and the singular with those of inferior beings, and thus the two numbers of the verb must assume, by little and little, the peculiar character of the substantives on which they are dependent.

This signification, once formed and favoured by the double character of the pronoun, of which there is also a respectful and contemptuous form, it becomes possible to explain how on the one hand the singular of substantives might be followed by the plural form, denoting respect, and how on the other hand other substantives would be followed by the singular form, expressing contempt. Thus the pronoun of the second person, *tumi*, would take the sense of you (plural), while it was more customary to address a person of distinction by *āpani* or *mahāçay* (your honour), both of which govern the third person plural of the verb. The pronoun *tui*, which always governs the singular with a sense of contempt, would cease to be regarded, even in its plural, *tord*, as a word expressing many individuals, but would be held to be a collective word with the sense of contempt.

In general however it may be borne in mind that people of rank do not employ this pronoun and the corresponding form of the verb even in addressing their servants, because at the same time that the respectful forms of the plural lay aside almost altogether, by continual use, their respectful sense, the other become so full of contempt, that in conversation they are injurious.

The first person alone has preserved both in the plural and singular the same form; so that with the exception of the difference between the pronouns (*ámi* and *mui*), the form of the verb remains the same.

The late Dr. Yates, who, after such a long intercourse with the natives of Bengal, may be considered as a good authority on this subject, says in reference to these forms of the verb and the pronouns: "It would be well for the first and second of these pronouns (*mui* and *tui*), and for the verbs that agree with them, to be expunged from the language; yet as they are frequently used in common conversation, it is necessary to notice them, to enable the student to understand what he will frequently hear. The third often answers a useful purpose in distinguishing between the Creator and the creature, the king and the subject, the master and the servant, the animate and the inanimate." And again: "If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form, but it is not found in good composition. From these strictures, however, the third person must be exempted, as it is used in all good composition for expressing common facts or events, and will on that ground in future be embodied in the honorific form of conjugation."

A slight knowledge of the system of the Indo-Germanic conjugations is sufficient to show that all the personal terminations of the verb came from the same source as those of the other cognate languages, and that they contain the remains of personal pronouns, added to the verbal root, and changed more or less in the gradual development of the language. It would be out of place to retrace here the origin of every Bengali termination, and to show the greater or lesser regularity of its successive alterations by analogies with the terminations of other languages. I think that the characteristic difference between the personal suffixes for the present and the imperfect (*i*, *is*, *e*, *am*, *i*, *a*), as well as the suffixes themselves, speak so clearly as to require no other proof for their Indo-Germanic descent, and I defy any one to find in any but an Indo-Germanic language, *i* and *am*, as the sign for the first person, *is* and *i* for the second, or *en* as the termination for the third person plural. We must only observe, that the terminations of the present and of the imperative contain the personal suffixes in their simplest forms, without the addition of any auxiliary verb, and the excellent work of Prof. Bopp will furnish sufficient instances of analogous forms of the personal terminations in *Sanskrit* and its filial languages.

The termination of the preterit, *ilám*, and of the future (*ibo*), bear the greatest resemblance to the corresponding Latin forms (*bam* and *bo*), and it might be possible to adopt the origin, assigned to these forms by Prof. Bopp, also for the Bengali, so that the terminations of these two tenses, small and insignificant as they are, might be shown to contain not only the remains of personal pronouns, but also those of an obliterated auxiliary verb. As to the future, there is externally not any difference between the pronunciation of the Latin *bo* and Bengali *ea* (pronounced *bo*); and the Latin *bam* might be compared with the termination of the Bengali preterit *lám*, when we remember that instances are not wanting of the semivowel *l* having taken in other languages the place of an original *v*. Thus Sanscrit *sav*, to sleep, German *schlaf*; Sanscrit *vad*, to say, Gothic *lath-ōn*.

I prefer however another explanation of this tense, which is more in accordance with the development which the form of the past tense has taken in Pracrit as well as in other modern languages of India. There is a change of letters which is of very frequent occurrence in the popular dialects of India, I mean the transition of the dental *t* into a lingual *d*, which, according to its pronunciation, may often be represented by *l* or *r*. Adopting this theory, Bengali forms, like *karilám*, I did, would contain a past participle with an active signification (Sanskrit *karita*=Bengali *karila*), followed by the secondary personal terminations. That this is the real origin of these forms may be put above every contradiction by a comparison with the Mahratta preterit, which, as Professor Lassen has shown, has preserved even the three genders of the participle, saying *to kelá*, he did, *tí kelí*, she did, *temí kelem*, I did, and even in the first person, *mí kelom*, I did (masc.), *mí keleñ*, I did (fem.), *mi kelom* (neuter). This being the case, and seeing that in Pracrit already all the original historical tenses are altogether lost, I think that even the Praerit termination of the preterite *ia* or *ta*, either in an absolute or neuter state, or followed by a masculine termination, may be taken for a corrupted form of a past participle, for we see that in Pracrit the termination *ta* is already changed into *da*, and that sometimes the *t* is entirely suppressed, as *osaria* for *osarida*.

The conditional seems to contain in the *t* of its terminations the remains of a present participial form, to which the secondary personal terminations are added in the same manner as in other clearly periphrastical formations, of which we shall have to speak directly. This tense is also interesting on account of its having preserved, in the second person singular, the final *s*, which is dropped in the corresponding form of the imperfect.

Besides the conjugation by means of the simple terminations, the Bengali language has yet two other conjugations, which are periphrastical in the proper sense of the word, although here also the two component parts are more intimately allied than in periphrastical formations of the Latin, (like *factus sum*,) or of the French (like *je suis fait*, *j'ai fait*). These conjugations, which furnish some tenses only, are formed, the one by adding the auxiliary verb to the participle, the other by adding it to the past adverb. The auxiliary verb is *áchi*, I am used in the present and preterite only.

This auxiliary verb *áchi* is the same as the Sanscrit *asmi*, *asi*, *asti*, Doric *ému*, *éσσι*, *éντι*, Latin *sum*, *es*, *eris*, cannot be regarded as a primitive root. Language, representing as it does the images of all things or actions, which by the energy of their impression upon the mind are able to excite an idea (*elðos*, phonic image), has not and cannot have a word which expresses the abstract and lifeless notion of mere affirmation or existence. But as the development of the mind advances, step by step, with that of language, and *vice versa*, we

see that at the same time, when by a frequently repeated perception of the different kind of "being," the mind arrived at the general idea of 'being' in its purest sense, (as copula) without the admixture of any determinative attributes, the language by the frequently repeated use of words, which originally expressed different kinds of specific being, forgot, if we may be allowed the expression, the distinctive character of *being*, represented by them, and took them in the general meaning of *being* without attributes. Thus we find that verbs, which signified properly *to stay, to sit, to grow, to arise*, lost in time their specific meaning, and expressed often, instead of the situation of staying or sitting, situation or existence in general, and instead of the act of growing and arising, action in general. It is in this way that the difference of meaning which, by careful attention and a fine feeling for language, can often be perceived between the different auxiliary verbs, must be accounted for; and thus we see in Bengali also that the verb *āchi*; I am, cognate as it is with a verbal radical signifying to sit, has retained something of its primary meaning, and implies always mere existence or existence in reference to locality, while the other auxiliary verb, *hay*, I am (the same as the Sanscrit *bhū*, Greek *φύω*, Latin *fui*), having the primitive meaning of to grow, to drive or to arise, signifies rather to become than to be. Ex. *tumi kimcid kriç häiyácha*, you have become a little thin; though very often it is but the mere verbal copula, as *tini jñánaván han*, he is wise; *açva paçu hay*, the horse is an animal. The other auxiliary verb *āchi*, on the contrary, is well employed in phrases like—is he (alive) or is he dead? *tini áchen ki mdrividchen*? God is for ever, *içvar sarvakdl dchen*. Is he at home? *tini ki ghare áchen*.

By means of the verb *āchi*, four periphrastical tenses are formed. Example:

karite, present participle, doing.

karitechchi, I am doing.

karitechchildm, I was doing.

kariyád, past adverb, having done.

kariyächchi, I have done (having done, I am).

kariyächchildm, I had done (having done, I was).

The meaning of these four tenses is evident by their origin.

Karitechchi, I am doing, describes an action which continues at the moment of speaking; *karitechchildm*, I was doing, an action, continued in a past time, always with reference to another action; as, I was doing when he arrived. *Kariyächchi*, I have done, implies an action accomplished at the moment of speaking; *kariyächchildm*, I had done, an action finished in a past time with reference to another action.

In Bengali there is no distinctive form for the subjunctive present, but the indicative is employed, though the character of the phrase may require a subjunctive form; or rather the whole character of the phrase and the manner of representing conditional ideas are not the same in Bengali as in other languages, which, by a change in the form of the verb, are enabled to give to the colour of the phrase this particular shade. The conditional relation is in the mind of one who expresses himself in Bengali insensibly changed into a mere temporal one. Ex. *yadi tumi mára, tave dñi mdriva*, word for word, when you beat, then I shall beat; *yadi ámi toindr pitd hay*, *dmidke avacya mánya karive*, if I am your father, you must respect me. The particle *yadi* can also be omitted. Ex. *tumi mára, tave ámi måriva*, you beat, then I shall beat, i. e. should you beat, I shall beat. Sometimes *tave* also, which usually begins the principal phrase, is not added. Ex. *tumi mára, ámi måriva*, you beat, I shall beat, i. e. should you beat, I shall beat.

The conditional may be regarded as the past tense of a subjunctive mood, in the principal as well as in the secondary phrase. Ex. *yadi tumi dm̄dke m̄rite, d̄mi tom̄dke m̄ritām*, if you had beaten me, I would have beaten you ; *yadi d̄mi sesthāne haitām, tini e duh̄kha p̄ātēn n̄d*, had I been there, he would not have experienced such distress. The same tense expresses sometimes the frequency of an action in the past time, without any conditional relation. Ex. *d̄mi rd̄jvidyālaye paditām*, I used to study in the Royal college.

The infinitive in *ite* has the same power as the infinitive of other languages : thus *tāhd̄ke m̄rite d̄mi dsiyāchi*, I am come to beat him ; *dm̄dke m̄rite deo*, allow me to beat. Dr. Stevenson remarks, that almost all of these Indian languages agree in forming an infinitive of very popular use, by adding the same letters that are used for the formation of the dative singular of nouns. It needs indeed but little insight into the origin and definite nature of the infinitive to see that it is nothing but a verbal noun with different, generally obsolete terminations of cases. Taking this view, which has been confirmed by the comparison of many Indo-Germanic languages, it is easy to see that the Bengali infinitive, "karite," must be taken for a dative or locative of a verbal noun, like the English "to do," while the Tamil infinitive, formed by the termination *ku* or *ka*, represents to us the verbal noun in the accusative, just as the Sanscrit and Latin terminations in *tum*.

The two verbal nouns ending in *iyd* and *ile* may be regarded as two verbal adverbs, or as absolute and obsolete cases of a verbal noun. The former is employed for the past, the latter for an indefinite, often for the future time. The origin of them is clear, the one corresponding to the Sanscrit form in *ya*, the other being a locative of the past participle, with the regular change of *t* into *l*. Both these forms give a great advantage to the Bengali, because it is possible to express by means of them a whole phrase dependent on another, without employing conjunctive particles and without any regard to gender, case and number. The subject only must be the same in the principal and subordinate phrases, when the form in *iyd* is employed. Ex. *tini pustak pd̄th kariyd vahire gelen*, he went out, after having read, or when he had read the book. *E samvād janiyād mugdha hailām*, having learnt this news, he became insensible.

The most usual form of the present participle has the same termination as the infinitive. Being a verbal adjective, it has like the other adjectives no terminations for the cases, but it governs the same case as the verb. Ex. *āpan putrake m̄rite d̄mi tāhd̄ke dekhilām*, I saw him beating his own son.

As the infinitives of the Indo-Germanic languages must be regarded as the absolute cases of a verbal noun, it is probable that in Bengali the infinitive in *ite* was also originally a locative, which expressed not only local situation, but also movement towards some object, as an end, whether real or imaginary. Thus the Bengali infinitive corresponds exactly with the English, where the relation of case is expressed by the preposition *to*. Ex. *tāhd̄ke m̄rite d̄mi dsiyāchi*, means, I came to the state of beating him, or I came to beat him ; *dm̄dke m̄rite deo*, give me (permission), let me (go) to the action of beating, i. e. allow me to beat.

Now as the form of the participle is the same as that of the infinitive, it may be doubted if there is really a distinction between these two forms as to their origin. For instance, the phrase *āpan putrake m̄rite d̄mi tāhd̄ke dekhilām*, can be translated, I saw him beating his own son ; but it can be explained also as, what they nonsensically call in Latin grammar *accusativus cum infinitivo*, that is to say, the infinitive can be taken for a locative of the verbal noun, and the whole phrase be translated, I saw him in the action of

beating his own son (vidi patrem caedere ipsius filium). As in every Bengali phrase the participle in *ite* can be understood in this manner, I think it admissible to ascribe this origin to it, and instead of taking it for a nominative of a verbal adjective, to consider it as a locative of a verbal noun.

That all of the verbs in these languages are naturally destitute of a passive voice, is true only so far as that they have given up the simple and ancient formation of the passive, formed in Sanscrit by affixing *ya* to the base of the verb. But it is highly interesting to see how modern languages, after abandoning the ancient formations, have often had recourse to the same means, by which these ancient forms were effected. Thus the Bengali, giving up the Sanscrit passive form in *ya*, created a new periphrastical passive voice by means of the same auxiliary verb *yā*, to go, saying, for instance, *jānd yāy* it goes to be known, instead of the Sanscrit *jñāyate*, it becomes known.

It is difficult however to say whether it is the passive participle or the verbal noun, which, joined to the verb *yātē*, serves in Bengali to represent a passive verb, ex. *nadi dekhā yātēche*, the river is seen (Sir Graves Haughton) has the merit of having first discovered the analogy existing between this compound Bengali passive and other passive formations in Sanscrit, &c., where the auxiliary verb *yā* (to go) is already more or less changed and obliterated. He believes that the *a* is the termination of the verbal noun, and his opinion has been adopted by Prof. Bopp, who has confirmed it by adducing analogical forms from the Latin and Sanscrit languages. The great difficulty of this theory is, to give a passive power to a composition, both the elements of which have an active signification, for the verbal noun in *a* as well as the verb *yātē* is always active. To remove this difficulty, Sir Graves says, "that when this form is used, it implies the object obtains the result of the action that the noun implies, which is just the equivalent of what the other forms express; for, when we say, he is killed by the man, we infer that he is gone to the state of death by means of the man." Against this theory we have but one observation to make, that is, that in Bengali *mātē* means to strike, to kill, and that by this reason *mārā yātē* would always mean, to go to the state of striking, of killing, and not to the state of death. The other example also, quoted by Sir Graves, *bhāla māndā sakaler kathār dvārā jānd yāy*, can be well translated, good and bad qualities of all go to discovery by words, but discovery would always retain an active sense, and would mean, to go to the state of discovering, which is nonsense. Therefore (Rammohun Roy) possessing doubtless the most intimate and delicate knowledge of the spoken Bengali, does not follow this opinion, but analyses these passive compounds by taking the former part for the passive participle (not mentioned in other Bengali grammars), and the latter for the verb *yātē*, with the sense of to become. Ex. *tākā deoyā gela*, money has been given (money went or became given out); *se mārā yāvek*, he will be beaten. What speaks mostly in favour of this opinion is, that there are in Bengali other phrases where *yātē* is really joined to the active verbal noun, which retains always its active or intransitive power. But in this case *yātē* has another signification, and is impersonally employed in the sense of, it goes, it happens. Ex. *dmāke jānd yāy nd*, literally, to know me never happens, i. e. I cannot be known; *tomāke dekhā gela*, you could be seen, or you have been seen. In this sense *yātē* can be combined with intransitive verbs also. Ex. *cālā yāy*, walking goes, i. e. we can go out.

There are still some other Bengali formations which serve to express the passive, but these too are, although not found in Sanscrit, yet entirely based

upon Sanscrit elements. Thus every passive participle may be taken from the Sanscrit, and may, when followed by the Bengali verb *haite*, to be, form a passive verb, as *krit*, done, *krit hay*, I am done. Besides, the Bengali has, like other languages, some compositions by which a passive sense can be expressed, though, grammatically speaking, they are hardly to be considered as constituting a distinct passive formation. Thus the verbe *khāite* (to eat) and *pāite* (to get), are of very frequent occurrence, to express in certain combinations a passive idea. Ex. *duhkha khāite*, to eat pain, to suffer pain, or to be pained; *māri khāy*, he eats or he gets a beating, i. e. he is or gets beaten, *pīdāte nashṭa pāivek*, he will get destroyed by grief.

So much in answer to Dr. Stevenson, and enough, I hope, to vindicate the origin which I ascribe to the grammatical structure of the Bengali. It would be easy to bring forward a great many forms of this dialect, the Sanscrit origin of which is beyond all doubt, but I think that the mere fact of Dr. Stevenson's not mentioning them in support of his theory, shows sufficiently that he also did not consider them as arising from the language of the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

But now it may be asked, what is the use of these comparisons? what does it matter whether Bengali belongs, by its grammatical structure, to the Indo-Germanic or the Turkish family of languages, provided that a man knows enough of it to express what he wishes? My answer is this: from comparing languages, from finding out analogies between them, from tracing the origin of forms in modern languages down to the living roots of more ancient languages, and from going back, as far as it is allowed to us, to see the first manifestation of human mind by human speech, we derive, I think, a threefold advantage—an *historical*, *practical*, and *philosophical*.

When poetical tradition is silent, when historical records are lost, when physiological researches fail, language will speak and decide whether there has been a community and connection in the intellectual development of different people. One of the most important questions of ethnological philology, which is now pending, the question of the origin and the connection of the Babylonian, Assyrian and Median civilization, art and language, can only be solved effectively by the language of the inscriptions which have been found in the ancient cities of Babylon, Nineveh and Persepolis. It is as if it were by Providence that these monuments have been preserved during many centuries under the protecting veil of the earth, and that they are now discovered at a time when comparative philology has, by the study of the ancient languages of Egypt, Aramea, Persia and India, grown strong enough to master them, and to read in the arrows of these inscriptions the hieroglyphics of the human mind.

But in India too there are still many questions to be answered as far as ethnological philology is concerned. We are generally inclined to consider the inhabitants of this vast country as one great branch of the Caucasian race, differing from the other branches of the same race merely by its darker complexion. This difference of colour has been accounted for by the influence of a climate which has produced a similar change of colour even in those who, like the Portuguese, have settled there only for some centuries. If we look however more attentively at the descriptions which have been given of the physical properties of many tribes inhabiting the west and a great part of the centre of India, some in the mountainous districts of the Vindhya, like the Bhillas, Méras, Kolas, Gondas and Paharias, some even in the northern parts of the Himálaya and Beloochistan, as the Rájás or

Doms and the Brahuís, and others in the interior of the Dekhan, we cannot but admit that we meet here with a different race, which, by its physical and intellectual type, resembles closely the negro. The historical existence of this people we can trace in the *Máhabhárata*, as well as in the history of Herodotus, in both of which we find them mentioned in the north and north-west of India, while the existence of the same dark race in the south is authenticated, not only by Indian poems, but also by Strabo.

There is also some difference between the Brahminical inhabitants of the north and the south of India, the latter being rather short in their stature and dark in their complexion, not however so much as not to show still on both sides the noble stamp of the Caucasian race.

But while on physiological grounds we should find no difficulty in admitting those two races as the inhabitants of India, we have still to account for the difference of language which exists between the north and south of this peninsula. If the great mass of the inhabitants of the Dekhan belongs to the Caucasian race, one would expect to find also amongst them a Caucasian or Indo-Germanic language. Instead of this we find that the southern languages are entirely and originally different from the Arian languages spoken in the north, and that they bear, so far as we may judge from the latest researches, a resemblance to the dialects spoken by the savage tribes, like the Bhillas and Gondas, which we considered as having a Cushite origin.

But although these facts may seem contradictory and perplexing, yet these contradictions between the results of physiological and linguistical inquiries may be accounted for and reconciled by the aid of early tradition and history.

When the Arian tribes immigrated into the north of India, they came as a warrior-like people, vanquishing, destroying and subjecting the savage and despised inhabitants of those countries. We generally find that it is the fate of the negro race, when brought into hostile contact with the Japhetic race, to be either destroyed and annihilated, or to fall into a state of slavery and degradation, from which, if at all, it recovers by the slow process of assimilation. This has been the case in the north of India. The greater part of its former inhabitants have entirely vanished at the approach of the Arian civilization; some however submitted to the yoke of the conquerors, and many of these have, after a long period of slavery, during which they adopted the manners, religion and language of their superiors, risen to a new social and intellectual independence. The lower classes of the Hindús consist of those aboriginal inhabitants, and some of them continue still up to the present day in a state of the utmost degradation, living as outcasts in forests or as servants in villages. Some however who came into a closer contact with their masters, by living as servants and workmen in the vicinity of towns, or in the houses of their employers, have intellectually and physically undergone a complete regeneration, so that after three thousand years it would be difficult to trace the Súdra origin of many highly distinguished families in India.

The Arian conquerors of India did not however settle over the whole of Hindustan, but following first a southern and then a south-eastern direction, they left a great part of Western India untouched; and it is there that we find still those aboriginal tribes, which, escaping the influence of the Brahminical as well as afterwards of the Rajput and Mahomedan conquerors, preserve together with their rude language and savage manners the uncouth type of their negro origin. North of the tract of the Arian occupa-

tions only few of these Autochthones have been spared, yet some remains of them may be recognised in the tribes of the Rájis or Doms, who live in the mountainous parts of the Himalaya. They all belong to the same widespread people with whom but lately in Gondwana English armies came into hostile contact to prevent their pillage and human sacrifices ; and it is curious to see how the descendants of the same race, to which the first conquerors and masters of India belonged, return, after having followed the northern development of the Japhetic race to their primordial soil, to accomplish the glorious work of civilization, which had been left unfinished by their Arian brethren.

Wholly different from the manner in which the Brahminical people overcame the north of India, was the way they adopted of taking possession of and settling in the country south of the Vindhya. They did not enter there in crushing masses with the destroying force of arms, but in the more peaceful way of extensive colonization (*āçramas*), under the protection and countenance of the powerful empires in the north.

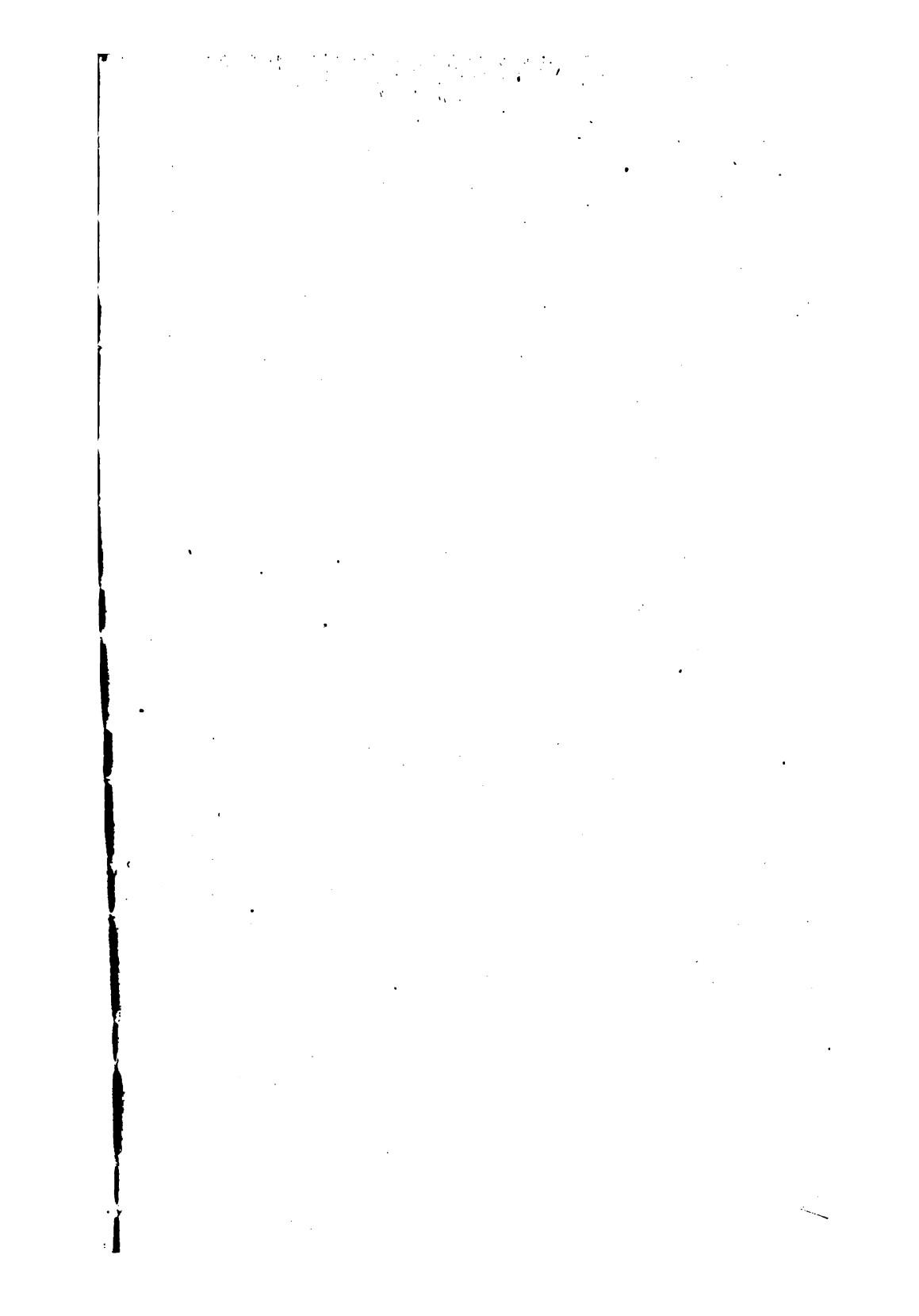
Though sometimes engaged in wars with their neighbouring tribes, these colonies generally have not taken an offensive but only a defensive part ; and it appears that, after having introduced Brahminical institutions, laws and religion, especially along the two coasts of the sea, they did not pretend to impose their language upon the much more numerous inhabitants of the Dekhan, but that they followed the wiser policy of adopting themselves the language of the aboriginal people, and of conveying through its medium their knowledge and instruction to the minds of uncivilized tribes. In this way they refined the rude language of the earlier inhabitants, and brought it to a perfection which rivals even the Sanscrit. By these mutual concessions a much more favourable assimilation took place between the Arian and aboriginal race, and the south of India became afterwards the last refuge of Brahminical science, when it was banished from the north by the intolerant Mohammedans. There remain still in some parts of the interior of the Dekhan some savage tribes, never reached by the touch of civilization ; yet upon the whole the Arian population, though comparatively small in number, has overgrown the former population, so that physically only few marks of a different blood remain. It is interesting and important to observe how the beneficial influence of a higher civilization may be effectually exercised without forcing the people to give up their own language and to adopt that of their foreign conquerors, a result by which, if successful, every vital principle of an independent and natural development is necessarily destroyed.

The practical advantage of comparative philology is perhaps less evident, because only few have availed themselves of the results of this science, and applied them to the practical study of languages. Every one however knows how difficult it is to learn the first rudiments of a grammar, because all those terminations, suffixes and prefixes, with which our memory is at first overloaded, are to our mind but mere sounds and names, while, by tracing their origin, their historical development, and their affinity with grammatical forms of other known languages, we begin to take some interest in them, and by putting them in connection with other ideas, find it easier to keep them in memory quickly and firmly. Besides, having once acquired the real understanding of any grammatical form, and having put its origin and power into its proper light, we can afterwards dispense with a great many rules which are necessary only from the want of a real understanding of these grammatical forms. These forms once thoroughly understood, we acquire a kind of feeling which

tells us in any particular case how far grammatical elements, in accordance with their primitive power, are able to express different shadows of meaning in the spoken language of a people.

On the advantage which philosophy or science in general derives from comparative philology, I do not venture to add anything after what was so fully and clearly explained yesterday by Chevalier Bunsen, the representative of German science in this country. Language must be considered, in its connection with nature and with the human mind, as being the natural expression of every natural impression, as being the higher unity and absolute reality of objective nature and subjective mind. Language stands in the system of the intellectual world as light stands in the system of the physical world, comprising all, penetrating all, and revealing all. There is more indeed to be read in human language itself than in anything that has been written in it. ▶

PH
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